DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 273 599 SP 027 957

AUTHOR	Kansanen, Pertti, Ed.
TITLE	Discussions on Some Educational Issues. Research Report 30.
INSTITUTION	Helsinki Univ., (Finland). Dept. of Teacher Education.
REPORT NO	ISBN-951-45-3635-5
PUB DATE	85
NOTE	129p.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Descriptive (141) -- Collected Works - General (020)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Adult Education; *Educational Philosophy; *Educational Research; Elementary School Teachers; Elementary Secondary Education; *Foreign Countries; Secondary School Teachers; *Social Influences; *Teacher Education; Teacher Role
IDENTIFIERS	*Finland; Sweden

ABSTRACT

Educational issues in Finland and Sweden are addressed in the following papers: (1) "Teacher Training and the Official Teacher's Role" (Karl-Georg Ahlstrom and Maud Johnsson); (2) "Evaluation of Coercive Elements in Education" (Timo Airaksinen); (3) "Philosophy from the Viewpoint of Education" (Pertti Kansanen); (4) "Education of Secondary School Teachers and Research concerning Their Education in Finland" (Hannele Niemi); (5) "The Societal Determinant and an Assessment of Its Realization in the Revised Training of Class Teachers" (Arja Puurula and Kari Uusikyla); and (6) "Adult Education for Life Transitions" (Paula I. Robbins and Seppo Kontiainen) (JD)

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RESEARCH REPORT 30

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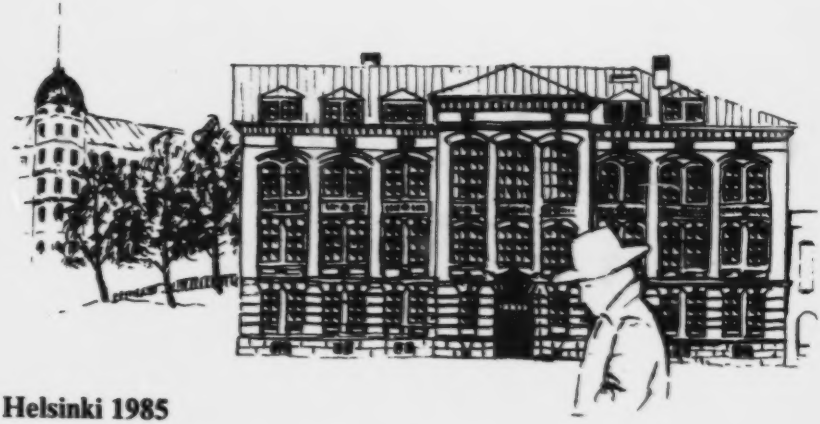
DISCUSSIONS ON SOME EDUCATIONAL ISSUES

Edited by Pertti Kansanen



Helsinki 1985

SP027957

to Elizabeth Ashburn

RESEARCH REPORT 30

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DISCUSSIONS ON SOME EDUCATIONAL ISSUES

Edited by Pertti Kansanen

Helsinki 1985

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ISBN 951-45-3635-5
ISSN 0359-4203
Helsinki 1985
Yliopistopaino

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TEACHER TRAINING AND THE OFFICIAL TEACHER'S ROLE

by
Karl-Georg Ahlström & Maud Jonsson*

Background and starting points

The curricula for the Swedish school system in conjunction with certain acts of parliament represent the state's view of how work in the schools ought to be carried out. They provide a framework for schools in the form of organization, objectives, content, allocation of teaching time etc., and in certain cases prescribe and in others recommend types of activity which should fall within this framework. Curriculum and statute together thus express expectations of how the teacher's work should be organized, what it should consist of and how it should be carried out. These expectations concerning the teacher's behaviour are 'role prescriptions'; they can be said to constitute an official teacher's role.

These prescriptions give expression, just as the curricula and the law, to political visions, and are of course not necessarily compatible with the views on school and teaching held by the individual teacher with a different political persuasion. They can even be at odds with the 'received experience' which the majority of teachers feel that the profession has acquired. Open resistance to reform proposals worked out by central administration has occurred, but in the majority of cases the resistance takes more subtle forms: a reform is carried out, but in such a way that in practice everything

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*Translation by David Anstey

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remains as it has always been (Sarason 1973). There exists therefore a dichotomy between the view of the teacher as a servant of the state and as the servant of his profession. The professional knows, or thinks he knows, what objectives can be reached and what means are necessary for the achievement of specific goals. The civil servant has only to pursue those aims set up for him by others, with the help of means allocated to him.

Educational research finds itself in the middle of this dichotomy. To the extent that it attempts to shatter those illusions with which 'received experience' is beset, or demonstrates that the school system does not function in accordance with its aims and guidelines, educational research is probably regarded with suspicion by the profession. In Sweden educational research has for a long time been deeply involved in the government projects of evaluation and realization of political educational visions. It is regarded in all probability by the teaching profession as being allied to the state, and individual representatives of research as advocates of the official teacher's role.

Teacher training, which in common with schools is state-run, may be regarded as having the obligation of training the would-be-teacher in the official teacher's role, but must naturally equip him also with the expertise accumulated within the profession. Certain teacher trainers, but not all, have been recruited specifically because they are highly respected as teachers and are willing to pass on the 'received experience' to new generations of teachers. It is therefore open to question how their loyalties are divided between the state, representing the official teacher's role, and the teaching profession presiding over the 'received experience'. Questions arise also over the shaping of the teaching role that the student teachers are trained in.

Teacher training is from many points of view a highly complex organization, not least with respect to the composition of its staff. A number of those involved in the training of teachers have been recruited on the grounds that they possess a high degree of expertise as teachers in those areas of education which teacher training is concerned with. In some cases this practical expertise is linked with high academic qualifications in certain teaching subjects. Another group of teacher trainers consists of specialists in areas which do not correspond to the teaching subjects within the school system. Teachers in pedagogics and psychology, for example, fall within this group. One should therefore take into account the fact that teacher trainers have their reference groups sometimes within and sometimes outside the classroom walls, for example in an academic faculty. If a conflict of loyalties exists within teacher training this should come to the surface in the interpretation of the official teacher role that teacher trainers make with their differing backgrounds and identities.

The present paper offers an analysis of the training of subject teachers in Sweden from these points of departure. The system of class teachers is applied here in the first six years of primary school, and thereafter subject teaching takes over. The subject teacher has as a rule two or three subjects. Teacher training takes somewhat different forms in different parts of the country, as the decision-making process is to a considerable degree decentralized. The present study deals with the training of subject teachers in the form that it exists at the University of Uppsala during the years 1980-1982.

The analysis is based on a series of investigations originally set up to study the consequences of the new reorganized system of higher education which came into force in 1977, and the tensions inherent in the training sketched in the opening paragraphs were not at the outset the focus of our interest.

In due course, however, they began to assume a greater prominence. This brought certain consequences which we shall return to later.

Organization of subject teacher training

There are separate curricula for each of the levels of schooling where subject teaching takes place, i.e., the senior level of the nine-year compulsary school, the upper secondary school and adult education. The training of subject teachers does not differentiate between the various needs of these school levels, but produces a sort of 'omnibus' teacher. One may therefore assert that their curricula together comprise the official teaching role into which the training process must mould the prospective teacher. The term 'curriculum' is henceforth used to comprise the curricula of the three school levels.

With his secondary education behind him the prospective subject teacher applies for admission to the course of subject teacher training at a university; he will there start his professional training by studying two or three teaching subjects, for example maths, physics and chemistry, for a total of at least 120 points (1 point = 1 week; 40 points = year).

These studies in his future teaching subjects take place in those university departments catering for the subjects in question. The order in which the subjects are taken is not fixed, so that the student teachers within each year are not kept together. Fellow students may be prospective teachers who have embarked on their higher education earlier or later, but may equally well be students with ambitions towards other professions. There cannot be any real adaptation of the courses to suit the demands of future teachers, but in certain subjects one or two shorter courses are arranged which are intended specifically for them. In addition all student

teachers undergo a course of two weeks' teaching practice during each of the first two years of their studies. This course is called the introductory course in practical pedagogics - IPP - and is intended amongst other things to give the students an opportunity of reassessing their choice of career and encouraging a certain group spirit among them.

When the student has obtained his 120 points he has free admission to the fourth year of teacher training, the practical educational training - PET - at the university's Department of Teacher Training. Hitherto his teachers in all subjects except IPP have been pure academics, i.e., they do not need to have undergone teacher training or to have worked in the type of school for which the student is preparing himself. The courses at the Department of Teacher Training are covered by three categories of teacher: subject methodologists (SM), educational theorists (ET) and supervisors. The SM teachers have been trained as subject teachers and have worked as such in primary school, secondary school or adult education. As a rule there is one research trained methodologist in each teaching subject, but they are in a minority in Uppsala. The same requirements apply to the ET teachers, but they may either have class teacher training or subject teacher training in psychology or another social science subject. Even the ET teachers may lack research training, but these are in a minority in Uppsala. The methods subjects are divided into three groups, mathematics and science, social science and linguistics. The ET teachers form a group of their own.

The supervisors are subject teachers and in common with the SM teachers have not studied educational theory beyond what is included in PET. Supervisors in upper secondary school are sometimes research trained. A supervisor post is based completely on the school to which the students come for their teaching practice. Posts are normally allocated for one year at a time, but many have been supervisors over a considerable

period. In 1981 the practical educational training comprised those courses which are set out in figure 1.

Course	Points	When given	Run by
IPP	4	yrs 1 and 2	Supervisors, ET and SM teachers
Subject methodology	5	4	SM teachers
Educational theory	5	4	ET teachers
General methodology	3	4	ET and SM teachers
School in Society (SIS)	4	4	ET and SM teachers
Subject theory	4	4	SM teachers and subject theorists
Teaching practice	19	4	Supervisors
	40(+4)		

(1) Now discontinued. Points divided up between subject methods and educational theory.
(2) Compensation for time lost during first and second year. Sometimes used for study trips or specific courses such as health science etc. 'School adapted' theoretical subject courses are run in some cases.
(3) During teaching practice the student is visited at least six times by an SM teacher in each subject and twice by an ET teacher. A three-subject student will thus receive 18 visits from SM teachers and two from ET teachers.

Figure 1. Survey of the practical educational training

Theory and practice are alternated according to the pattern in figure 2, but the length of the periods can vary from year to year.

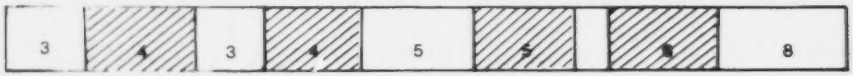

Figure 2. The alternation of theory and practice during PET. The shaded area is teaching practice. The figures give the number of weeks.)

Teaching methods are studied in each subject that the student is qualified in. The prospective teacher for example in English, German and French is taught methods of teaching in each one of his subjects. Since 1980 the students on all the theory courses are graded on a three point scale.

Teaching practice is carried out in ordinary schools, where one or more teachers in return for reduced workload and salary increment makes his teaching groups available and becomes himself a supervisor. The supervisor receives as a rule a couple of days' training each year.

The student often completes his teaching practice in lower secondary classes and in the upper secondary school, but hardly ever in adult education. He or she carries out the teaching practice alone and most often in different schools for each period. During their visits the SM and ET teachers are present during one or two lessons and discuss them afterwards with the student. Teaching practice is designed to give a taste of all aspects of a teacher's work and an opportunity to practise them, but those visiting the student have no real opportunity to judge more than a few individual lessons. Up to 1980 the students were graded in teaching ability as a result of their teaching practice, and this grade was often decisive in filling posts. Nowadays only pass and fail are awarded. By tradition the greatest importance when assessing the students is attached to the SM teacher's judgement, as he has seen more of the teaching practice than the ET teacher.

During the last period of his teaching practice the student carries out a special study in the form of an essay. The subject is chosen in consultation with an SM or ET teacher. The grading in the subject in question is probably influenced by the quality of the special study.

A closer definition of the issues

After the above description of the organization of subject teacher training, the object of the investigation may be expressed in terms of a number of issues, namely:

1. What interpretation of the subject teacher's role finds expression in the content and organization of the practical educational training, and what relation does this bear to the official role prescriptions?

2. To what degree are the different categories of teacher trainer within PET loyal to the official teacher role?

3. How can the variations between the teacher categories in the question of loyalty be explained?

4. How are conflicting conceptions of the teacher's role handled within the staff?

5. How does the teacher image which the students bring with them at the beginning of their training relate to the role prescripton that they find in PET?

6. What conceptions of the subject teacher's role will the students acquire during PET?

These issues should be taken both as guidelines for the investigation and as the outcome of it. The questions are thus given no complete answer, but rather point the way to a deeper analysis.

Different types of data and methods for their collection and processing

We have collated data through

1. Interviews with students and ET teachers, SM teachers and supervisors.

2. Observation of supervisor training, lessons in subject methodology during PET, student teachers' lessons during their teaching practice and the SM teachers' and supervisors' assessments of these lessons.

3. Analysis of curricula, training programmes, course syllabuses and reading lists.

The students' and teacher trainers' views of school and of teacher training have been collected in personal interviews. Each interview has taken between one and a half and three hours and can best be described as a discussion around a number of topics (10-12) which the interviewees have been supplied with in advance in order to prepare themselves a little. An example of a topic: Motives for becoming a supervisor (SM teacher / ET teacher / teacher). An example of supplementary questions within the topic: What advantages does one derive from being X? On what basis should one choose X? How were you recruited yourself? Is there something required of an X which not all teachers (everybody) possess? All interviewees were thus questioned both about themselves and about other categories. To a certain extent the topics were common to all participants, but some specific questions came up which were relevant for each category. With the students a great deal of attention was devoted to the theoretical studies of the first three years, while with the supervisors the conditions in their own schools and how they looked upon their duties as supervisors were for example discussed, and with the

ET and SM teachers the content and objectives of their own teaching. As a consequence of the fact that the initial aims of the investigations were different from those which came to assume prominence at a later stage, the interviews with the students, with which the investigation began, have brought the official teacher's role and the tensions within teacher training less into focus than one might have wished.

The interviews with the students and supervisors were written out directly after each interview with the aid of notes taken during the exchanges. The SM and ET teachers' remarks, on the other hand, were taped and then written out in a slightly edited version.

The interview subjects among SM teacher, supervisor and student teacher were selected by random sampling to give between 20 and 25 people per category. Since the number of ET teachers engaged in subject teacher training was no more than six, all were interviewed. Only one student and one supervisor declined to take part. A total of 73 interviews were conducted.

We have also attended as observers a couple of courses in supervisor training. There we have listened amongst other things to ET and SM teachers telling the supervisors about the organization and content of the theoretical teaching within PET. We asked one group of supervisors taking part in these courses to list the problems which cause them most difficulty in their supervision, and this list has provided us with a starting point for the interviews with their colleagues. We have taken part in 25 lessons in methodology (physics, biology, English and social sciences), and accompanied SM teachers on their visits to student teachers on teaching practice and there listened to fifteen or so lessons in maths, physics, chemistry, English and social sciences as well as taking note of the post mortems.

The investigations have been published in separate reports: the interviews with the students in Ahlström and Jonsson, 1981, those with the supervisors in Jonsson 1982 and those with the SM and ET teachers in Jonsson 1984. The observations made during lessons will receive supplementary material before they are possibly published in a separate report.

Results

Fragmentation. The interviews with the teacher trainers give a slightly idealised picture of the training; this emerges even more clearly if one compares the answers from different categories of interviewee with one another. The answers do not always reflect reality, but rather give expression to a hope or ambition. Despite this idealization the organization emerges as being highly sectorized and divided.

The divisions in the practical educational training manifest themselves in the following way. Very little cooperation exists between educational theory and methodology, hardly any coordination even of the teaching. Despite organization into groups, each methodology subject exists in isolation from the other methodology subjects, both inside and outside a group. Natural working partners ought to be found in neighbouring subjects, for example between English and French, but it does not work in this way. Regular collaboration exists only between teachers in the same subject. General methodology, the all-embracing subject which ran for two years, was discontinued on the grounds that "it never found its feet" and other such vague reasons. In the SIS course, dealing with school environment, the pupils' home situation and the coordinations of school with other organs in society, an investigatory approach is used. Certain SM teachers regard it as highly successful, while others see it as taking time which could be put to better use in the teaching of subject methodology, and

the ET teachers do not see themselves involved in it, and regard it as having robbed them of one of their specialisms: educational sociology.

Since General Methodology was discontinued after a couple of years' "test period" it is only in educational theory that students with different subject combinations are brought together regularly. This is by definition impossible in subject methodology. Most of the SM teachers have serious objections to the idea of grouping embraced by the ET teachers. They want the groupings to be based on the subject methodology subdivisions, as was the case previously. The reasons put forward are that one would then be able to coordinate the teaching in educational theory and methodology better, but according to the ET teachers past experience points to a tendency for the subject factor to dominate, i.e., that the ideas which are paramount to the educational theorists never achieved prominence. In the SIS course work is done in small groups, and as a rule those students with the same subject form groups together. During teaching practice each student works independently. Subject combinations influence to a very large extent the informal groups that evolve, and the opportunities of through classmates acquiring an outlook and a teaching vocabulary which is not intimately linked with subject combination are therefore limited.

The timetable for the theoretical courses is crowded, and the teaching takes place in short periods.[1] The students are quite literally sent back to the classroom with little opportunity for private study or project work; the SIS course is to some extent an exception to this. The lack of coordination between

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1) During the academic year 1983 - 1984 experiments have been run with intensive weeks of methodology and educational theory and increased private study time.

theory and practice is perhaps nevertheless the clearest sign of fragmentation in the practical educational training. The supervisor training takes only a cursory glance at teacher training and concerns itself mostly with administrative rules that supervisors must follow, and new lines of development within various subject subdivisions. The supervisors say therefore that they are without guidelines for what is to be practised by the student teachers, and they have practically no opportunity to link up with the theoretical teaching, from which they are entirely cut off. What the supervisors chiefly rely on is that the theory takes roughly the same form as when they themselves underwent teacher training.

Loose integration and sectionalism assume new dimensions when we look at teacher training as a whole. The pure subject studies during the first three years and the subject methodology in the fourth year are in the hands of separate teacher categories who lack a forum for mutual planning, and the link between the pure studies and the practical educational training is so weak that it can scarcely be described at all as an integrated job training. The conditions necessary to a community of interest among would-be teachers do not exist even within the pure subject courses. The outlook and vocabulary which is evolved is closely linked to the scientific disciplines. The interviews with the students made it clear that in their free time they do not mix more with other would-be teachers than with friends in other walks of life, and that the practical educational introductory course is chiefly regarded as a chance to reconsider plans for a teaching career.

The official teacher's role. The teacher trainers themselves maintain that teacher training should follow or operate in harmony with the curricula in those levels of schooling for which the students are destined. This opinion is also stated in the currently valid central training program for subject teacher training (UHÄ, 1978), and even more clearly in its predecessor from 1975 (Skolöverstyrelsen 1975).

Behind the creation of a school curriculum lies political ideology, and it is therefore subject to change. The most recent curriculum for primary and lower secondary school - Curriculum 80 (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1980) - which is well "in tune" with the curricula for upper secondary school and adult education - contains many novelties, but the general "spirit" has been firmly anchored in social life and thought since the forties. It is only natural that teacher training should be embued with the same spirit, be organized on the same lines and in part employ the same forms and methods of working, though with a more specialized content. Where does teacher training stand in relation to this?

"School, a centre for cooperation" reads one of the headings in Curriculum 80. A key expression is "Organized teamwork" among the teachers, which does not in any way exist between teacher trainers of different categories. It does not exist in all schools either, but the schools are nevertheless ahead. Teamwork is supposed to pave the way for Interdisciplinary Studies and a more Flexible grouping of pupils; the latter is designed among other things to achieve education's goals regarding social equality. The curriculum therefore proposes that great space be given to "Topics and Projects", which receive scant attention in teacher training. Many of the teachers interviewed regretted this and gave lack of time as the chief reason, and hitherto lack of longer unbroken courses. Lack of time is also offered as a reason for using less pupil-based techniques and for lecturing more than is perhaps desirable. The lecture is regarded as an efficient medium. The teacher himself becomes an important figure, since the material for private study is lacking. Otherwise this should really be a way of working suitable for an adult body of pupils well able to organize their own studies.

Cooperation and mutual planning brings with it the vital need of setting up common objectives for teaching and passing

judgement upon what is done. This exists in teacher training in individual subjects but not in any mixed groups containing students, methodologists, supervisors etc. No tangible aims for teacher training or suggestions for achieving them have ever been formulated.

The gap between theory and practice wholly negates the curriculum's thesis that theory and practice must be intimately linked together; "teaching in which this link is not continuously in the foreground betrays its purpose." (op cit p. 44).

A further demand placed on the subject teacher by the school curriculum can be put under the heading character building. An examination of this term and its implications lies outside the scope of this study, but one aspect of it may be brought into the light. The subject teacher who stands before us in the official image is a person who can create an emotional involvement and a readiness to act which goes beyond mere intellectual enlightenment. According to the curriculum this requires a problem-solving approach to work, which promotes creativity and critical thought: the teacher must withdraw into the background, so that the student can work independently, both as an individual and in a group. But such methods are practically non-existent in teacher training. With adult pupils with an experience of studying, democratic forms of working - a share in decision making - should be easier to bring into being than in the context of child education. But in teacher training initiatives on the part of the students and their willingness to shoulder responsibility is opposed through lack of background planning, through the teachers' assumption that they are irreplaceable as the conveyors of knowledge, and through the fact that an investigatory method of working is regarded as more time consuming and less efficient than spoon-feeding with information.

The organization of the prospective teacher's education - both

theoretical and practical - is gravely out of step with the curricula of the school levels he is being trained for, according to those characteristics of the official teacher's role that we have considered: a teacher prepared to collaborate with other teachers, aiming at interdisciplinary activity which leaves room for the pupils' own initiatives and power-sharing, for which the link between theory and practice is vital, and who is willing to subordinate his function as the bearer of knowledge to that of a guide. These traits are however nothing of a novelty but have been a part of the official image for twenty years or more.

The training which is passed on is adapted to the teacher working on his own, mainly limited to the idea of holding lessons in certain subjects. No "jobanalysis" of the teacher's different functions and what training these require has been carried out. During teaching practice today it is really only the lessons which are assessed, and furthermore it is only the lessons which are obligatory. If we are to embrace the important aspects of professional training which include "readiness to change and renew" the training ought to provide structures, imagination and practice in sifting and using information, both alone and together with others. Suchlike principles have nevertheless made no real impression on the practical educational part of a subject teacher's training. The special study can be seen as a step in the right direction, but this according to many teacher trainers' judgement is something else which has "not fallen into place".

Why is teacher training sectionalized? There is plenty of opportunity at the local level for building up the practical educational training according to one's own intentions during the fourth year. Plenty of room for initiative is left by the framework handed down from the centre.

If we wish to characterize the official role prescriptions and

the way in which, according to the curricula, teaching should be carried out, Bernstein's notion of integrative code is very appropriate, while his term collective code is suitable for teacher training (Bernstein 1971).

In order to speak of an integrative code we must assume that some higher principle exists which brings unity to a previously disparate content and eradicates the borders between the original parts. The curriculum's vision of a school built up on teamwork, topic studies and project work, extending over the frontiers of subjects, leads thus in the direction of an integrative code, and the existing developments within school are, to a certain extent, of this type. Another characteristic of integrative code is the lack of clear demarcation between everyday life and knowledge derived from school and subject teaching, which is something we can also see happening today. School lays itself open to society at large, and teaching concentrates on the pupils' own experience. The resources which the pupils bring with them must be recognized, and we must begin from them and try to develop them.

In stark contrast to what is happening in primary and lower secondary school, upper secondary school and adult education, subject teacher training can most reasonably be brought under the term collective code. Small sections of material are offered in a form which is given the term "strong framing" in Bernstein's terminology: the students' influence over choice of methods and content is fairly negligible - even if this varies between subjects and courses.

Why does such a situation exist in teacher training? We maintain that it has to do with the fact that an integrative code relies upon the presence of certain requirements which are not fulfilled. According to Bernstein basic principles are needed to guide the integration of material. These principles must be explicit and agreed. Untapped practical resources exist for

creating such bridges, but this requires a consensus which is at present lacking.

It is collective codes that have been pre-eminent through school history, which explains why the majority of teacher trainers are conditioned by them. Imprinting or conditioning are good expressions in the context, for as Bernstein asserts the collective code becomes a part of personal identity. Under a collective code one becomes increasingly specialized, and specialization brings prestige. As a consequence the individual runs to the defence of his own body of knowledge. Specialization acquires according to Bernstein "a sense of the sacred", and every attempt to break down the system of classification "may be felt as a threat to one's identity and may be experienced as a pollution endangering the sacred" (ibid p. 212). This feeling for one's own specialism comes out strongly above all in the interviews with the SM teachers. They regard the subject content within their own domains as more or less immutable; everything that is normally taught must be there and it is difficult to fit in anything else.

The obstacles to collaboration and mutual planning within teacher training are not above all of a practical kind. They can be traced back to
(1) the teacher trainers' adoption of the "collective hallmark" during their own time as pupils, and
(2) a lack of general principles around which to build up an integrative code. Even if teacher training as a whole has an organization and a content which are incompatible with the official teacher image, there are still varying degrees of loyalty to this image. These tensions are defused through fragmentation, through each member looking after his own house, through lack of coordination.

Officer or professional? Their degree of loyalty to the official teacher's role may be assumed to vary according to the

reference group to which the teacher trainers belong. Psychology, part of the subject educational theory in teacher training, is a school subject in the upper secondary school, and those educational theorists who have undergone teacher training have carried out their teaching practice in psychology and another social science subject. None of them however has been a teacher in psychology even if all of them have been in the profession for several years, usually as class teachers.

In the main the ET teachers have their reference groups within research circles, among academic teachers and researchers in psychology and educational theory. The situation that the educational theorists' teaching subject, with the single exception mentioned above, is not a school subject, means that education's general and non-cognitive aims are central for them. The starting point for their analysis of education are these aims, which are formulated in the curricula, and ideas within psychology and educational theory. In the interviews the ET teachers maintain that the approach that they wish to inculcate in the prospective teacher is the doctrines in the curriculum of, among other things, equal right to education, democratic traditions, and that education should not only train the intellect and impart knowledge in school subjects but has also broader aims to consider. The students must be fully aware, they say, that the curriculum is in certain respects binding, and aware of which those objectives, rules and framework are that mark the frontiers of the teacher's individual freedom. A number of those interviewed make assertive statements on this point with the implication that those who disagree, for example, with the curriculum's democratic principle ought to leave the profession. It emerges during the discussions that some of the students are not at all in sympathy with the curricula, and then a fine point is put on the issue.

The SM teachers also feel that certain students ought not to

become teachers and press in some cases for the use of special selection methods, but in no case do they refer to the same reasons as the ET teachers. For the SM teachers the prime consideration is instead the students' ability to lead a group and inspire it. Personal suitability is on the whole discussed much more within teacher training than in other professional trainings, such as, for example, medicine and law, and a few cases of dissuasion usually occur each year. It is then a case of individuals who are considered socially disturbed, and whose problems extend to their contact with the pupils.

The SM teachers do not teach the subjects they are qualified in, but rather the methodology of those subjects, and as methodologists they are self-taught. Their recruiting has been based upon good teaching reputation, which many of them acquired during training. They have shortly afterwards been recruited as supervisors, and a few years later they have applied for and obtained posts as SM teachers; in several cases they have been encouraged to apply. In the post of SM teacher there has until recently been included a couple of hours compulsory school teaching each week. They all regard this contact with school as vital, and many have retained their school teaching.

In addition to their jobs as SM teachers a great many have devoted themselves to the writing of teaching books for school. Others have been engaged in the checking of teaching books, and others again have sat as experts on committees which have worked out the details of the curricula in their own subjects, or have had other similar commitments. They have thus exerted a considerable influence over subject content in primary and lower secondary school and in the upper secondary school. This involvement has naturally meant that they are obliged to keep themselves au fait with the scientific progress within those disciplines which correspond to school subjects.

The SM teachers' reputation is thus that of successful teachers and of the guardians of tradition within teacher training, but their position has made it necessary for them to keep up with academic progress. Their reference groups must therefore lie partly within school education and partly within those academic subjects which correspond to the school subjects in question. This is a guarantee that they will jealously guard the frontiers between different subjects - and they have as a group been among those most fervently opposed to the interdisciplinary initiatives in the curricula - and that the cognitive aims of education are the focus of their interest.

The supervisors, finally, have been recruited on many different criteria. Former students at the teacher training college in Uppsala with the reputation of good teachers have been invited to become supervisors. Others have taken the initiative themselves, imagining that becoming supervisors would provide them with new impulses and - sometimes - reduce the isolation which they experience in their work. The financial increment and the variety in duties which the post of supervisor brings have probably also been contributory factors, though seldom mentioned. Some have in the end given in to pressure from their own headmasters. The length of time for which supervisors continue their duties depends to a large extent on supply and demand, but the assessment of the supervisors by the SM teachers in conjunction with the teaching practice visits clearly play some part. They maintain that they have in fact advocated the removal of certain incompetent supervisors in some cases. It would seem likely also that their recommendations of good supervisors have tipped the balance in case where supply has been plentiful.

The supervisors' reference group is other teachers. There is much which indicates that they are not recruited from among the teachers who are most progressive in the way intended by

the curriculum. Few of them have any experience of working in a teaching team, and few of them have been involved in any kind of development work.

In general the ET teachers emerge as advocates of the official teacher's role and the view of the teacher as an official. The SM teacher represents the opposite pole, the member of a profession who both conveys and transmits the "received experience". It appears that the supervisors form a less uniform group, but those who have been supervisors for some time seem to have an outlook resembling that of the SM teachers. There are no consistent differences in approach, say the SM teachers interviewed, and the supervisors confirm this, but the educational theorists often regard themselves as taking a somewhat different line. At the teaching practice visits they concern themselves with the broader issues, which do not have to do with the details of a certain lesson, and claim that they have a wider perspective than the methodologists or the supervisors. The ET teachers do not see classroom reactions and atmosphere to the same extent as the SM teachers as a question of methodology in the strictest sense. It is above all the educational theorists who during teaching practice visits run the risk that they advance theories which go outside the students' frame of reference, and which run counter to the supervisors' own notions of teaching. This is also stated by the supervisors, who in the interviews sometimes speak of the ET teachers as being unrealistic and somewhat unworldly.

Balance of Power. What the students value absolutely highest in their training is the teaching practice. The theoretical studies within PET on the other hand is not regarded as equally important. Arfwedson (1981) has a reasonable explanation for this, namely that the students are unable to distinguish between fact on the one hand and opinion and debate on the other in the material which is laid before them, and therefore that most of it is dismissed as ideology. The most problematic

subject in this respect is probably educational theory, as it attempts to provide rational arguments for the curricula of the school system - the official teacher's role - which the students never see put into practice. The arguments appear as incompatible with their own experience and therefore as ideological.

The teaching practice was even more decisive before, when the methodology dons set grades. The fact that they have held that position should put them in a stronger position than the educational theorists vis a vis the student teachers. It is the SM teachers who are regarded as suitable to judge teaching ability. During teaching practice however the students are in many respects abandoned to the supervisors and must therefore accept their approach and even adapt themselves to it, but as we have seen the supervisors and the methodologists are in broad agreement. By calling into question what the other significant figures - the supervisors and SM teachers - believe, and even what is accepted practice, the educational theorists easily acquire a reputation for being unrealistic and unworldly. Inasmuch as they do not adapt themselves to the norm - that the untried is unrealistic - their credibility is probably reduced.

It is also important to take into account the image of the teacher that the students bring with them at the beginning of their training. Their image has been moulded during their time as role partners to various teachers when they themselves were at school, in opposition to the ideas which characterize the curricula for education today. This conception has moreover been confirmed during the first three years of teacher training in a system of higher education whose main characteristics are elitism, emphasis on cognitive aims and specialization within the individual discipline. It must also be taken into account that the teaching profession recruits those who will defend school and its traditions for the reason that they have

been successful there themselves and have every reason to be satisfied with the status quo (Lortie 1975). They have no particular reason to criticize education from their own experience or to give attention to its shortcomings.

These circumstances should affect the methodologists' credibility in the eyes of the students as opposed to the educational theorists'. Through fragmentation, the lack of contact and cooperation, even cliches and illusions are kept alive, for example the view that the ET teachers lack teaching experience from work in school. Teaching experience is in fact an argument in all contact with the students: it gives authority and the right to make assertions. The work in school which the SM teachers have had alongside their posts as methodology teachers lends credibility to their claim to have up-to-date experience of school. The educational theorists have difficulty in establishing ties with and finding a relevance in day-to-day school situations, for example because the official teacher's role rests upon assumptions which are insufficiently analysed, or because ideas in psychology or educational theory are not so easy to transpose into forms which are relevant to work in schools. The gist of this is that the students are perhaps less inclined to allow themselves to be influenced by the ET teachers than by other categories of teacher trainer. The ET teachers' argumentation is less convincing, but they also have fewer other means at their disposal and less time to exert influence.

What subject teacher role do the prospective teachers acquire? Of the three categories of teacher trainer the educational theorists are those most strongly allied to the official teacher's role, but they are in clearly the weakest position to influence the students. For the SM teachers the teaching subject and its characteristics occupy a central position; their interest in the role of education in a wider sense is fairly limited. Credibility and power are shared with the

supervisors. These are seldom recruited from among the "forward thinkers" in school. Inasfar as they have carried out or carry out progressive work this seems to be directed towards their own subjects and their methodology. The student teachers in our interviews have, for example, not had any experience of teamwork in school, although this exists and is rather common.

The supervisors' ideology includes the principle of interfering as little as possible with the students' teaching, on condition that he keeps himself within the proper limits, and to let him as much as possible concentrate on the functions of teaching. Departmental meetings, follow-up of pupils etc. must take second place. This means that the students' teacher image during their teacher practice is based on that which they bring with them, and that no attempts are made to change it, only to "refine" the skills and to "develop their own style". In particular the expressions "develop their own style" or "refine their style" occur continually in our interviews with the supervisors - and the SM teachers - with the notion that teaching practice should provide the opportunity for this and offer the student alternatives from which he can choose in accordance with his own "style". It is reasonable to assume that the image works selectively in this context. Those alternatives are accepted which are compatible with it. As we have seen few alternatives are offered which are in opposition to the image that the students bring with them.

The official teacher's role as it is presented in the curricula for primary and lower secondary school, upper secondary school and adult education are <u>today</u> based upon an integrative code in Bernstein's terminology. The <u>existing</u> system of training is characterized mainly by rigid classification and strong "framing". When the student embarks upon the practical educational part of this training he brings with him a teacher's image which is incompatible with the official teacher's role, but which nevertheless cannot be expected to undergo any significant change during the training.

Discussion

According to current regulations teacher training "shall be based upon scientific principles" (UHA 1978). This must reasonably imply that the content of the training must all the time keep space with the march of science. Concepts of society, mankind, the meaning of knowledge etc. which the prospective teacher brings with him, but which from the present scientific standpoint are to be regarded as illusions, should be broken down and altered during teacher training; the teaching and working methods which the student is to learn and practice must not be in opposition to but rather in harmony with well established scientific theories. This does not necessarily mean that the methods are derived from such theories, which they in fact very seldom are. The constitution must also be interpreted to say that the training shall work towards the acquisition by the student of a scientific approach, with all that implies. At the same time however teacher training must groom the prospective teachers in the official teacher's role, which must be taken to reflect the currently dominant ideology on education and its part in society, and equip them with the "received experience" which resides within the teaching profession. How can these demands be reconciled to each other?

The duty of the teachers in educational theory is to introduce the students to theories, methods and experience in educational theory, educational sociology and psychology. This calls for a principle according to which the content of the teaching is selected. Should the teaching help the students to understand the workings of school and his own actions as a teacher, i.e., should it work in an emancipatory way, or should it provide them with a specific view of schoolwork and effective techniques for solving the daily problems at school? Should the approach in other words be descriptive-analytical or normative-technological? Seen in a historical perspective

the teaching in educational theory has in Swedish teacher training been predominantly normative-technological (Skog-Östlin 1984), as has also educational research (cp eg. Kallos and Lundgren 1979). The direction of research has probably been decisive, but the easiest road for a very short basic training is to choose a normative-technological approach. The practical benefits of such an approach are more direct and therefore more obvious than those of a descriptive-analytical one, which leads in the first place to a questioning of the status quo and gives the starting points for change.

The fundamental view of the teaching profession which the ET teachers have chosen to introduce is that of the curriculum's official image. Selection of material has been biased towards backing up and justifying this image. At the same time the ideology which the curriculum rests on is justified: science becomes the servant of the state. The SM teachers in their turn are just as normative as the educational theorists, but the code of conduct and approach which they represent is worked out mainly within the teaching profession, and stands for the professions own understanding of its identity. If the ET teachers seek to operate as agents of change by promoting the official teacher's role, the methodologists do the same thing by bringing school subjects into line with new findings made within their primary disciplines. In this specific sense the methodology teaching rests on a scientific basis.

We have maintained that the ET teachers have accepted a greater measure of responsibility than the methodologists for selling the curricula, but we are at the same time aware that both parties can have a good deal of reasonable objections to such an interpretation. Perhaps the educational theorists do not see themselves as normative to such a great extent, and the methodologists probably believe that they lay sufficient emphasis on education's broader objectives, or as much as can be expected of them. It is at this point that the opinions

diverge, when the interviewees try to give their views on teacher categories other than their own. The function of curricula and the reality of school are understood differently, both by the groups directly involved and by the more "ivory tower" theorists. If one however maintains the view that the curricula are normative, the overriding ambition of teacher training should be more to demonstrate than to prove. This requires that school ideology manifests itself in school life as it is encountered by the students to a much greater extent than hitherto. The prospective teachers must see for themselves that it is possible to work as a team, to draw on the experiences of the pupils themselves, to break down the walls which divide subject from subject etc., even if there lie great obstacles in the path. If on the other hand such methods do not exist at all - and are by certain authorities more or less openly held to be unrealistic - this impression is bound to be passed on. Muzzled scepticism can create greater uncertainty than open debate. The theoretical utterances of related parties become thus ineffective.

It is in teaching practice that educational ideology must be rooted. It would then have a chance of becoming less normative. If teaching practice took place in specially "progressive", experimentalist schools, the opportunity for debate would then exist: to test and question curriculum ideology and different teacher roles. The training could at best be normative in the sense of demonstrating the art of the possible, without coming into conflict with the demand for a scientific approach. A confrontation between ideology on the one hand and received experience and psychology/sociology on the other would be a step towards the fulfillment of something of this demand. And the area of mutual concern in teacher training would appear to be teaching practice; it is there that the conflicts come to the surface.

In the debate about teaching practice we would wish as earlier

to interweave the working processes in the different theory courses. The reasons why one there should apply more of the same methods which are recommended for example for lower secondary and primary school are those stated above - the need for models, training and a certain consistency between the latent and the manifest message - not that these methods are always most efficient and best. In all probability they are not.

The teacher trainers themselves point readily to diverse practical difficulties - organizational, economic - which lie in the path of cooperation. We have instead proposed "frontier guarding" and the different reference groups to which teacher trainers belong and their respective areas of competence. Sectionalism and fragmentation are ways of reducing and living with daily conflicts. This can be taken as a provocative analysis which nevertheless can be applied in many other contexts than subject teacher training in Uppsala. The greater part of all public education in Sweden is state controlled according to principles which can never be subject to universal agreement when diversity is at the same time encouraged in many contexts. Perhaps some sort of sectionalism such as we encounter in teacher training is unavoidable? We have however attempted to discuss <u>how</u> the loyalties of different groups are divided and elicit reasons for it.

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EVALUATION OF COERCIVE ELEMENTS IN EDUCATION

by
Timo Airaksinen

I

In his fine little book Philosophy of Education James E. McClellan argues that "social continuity is sufficient for moral education" (p. 162). What he really wants to say is that education is, to use a fashionable slogan, the reproduction of culture, and therefore moral education must be a part of this work. No social continuity is possible if people don't think and act in certain socially desirable ways. McClellan then goes one step further and maintains that teaching and its contents can, in principle, be free of any indoctrinative and coercive components, and still contribute to social continuity.

Without going into the details of his complex argument, we can easily see that McClellan's idea is unnaturally restricted as to the conduct of any actual social life, as we know it. My point is as follows: Only if the society whose continuity through moral education in question is defined by means of normative notions, so that it is itself morally desirable, is it possible to see how that given social order may entail morally acceptable (moral) education. If the idea of society is understood descriptively as just any social order, it might happen that its continuity in time requires educational methods which are, conventionally, called 'moral' but which collapse into mere pressure towards socialization and exploit strictly unacceptable methods. For example, a dictatorship may extend itself through generations only if its members are taught to respect (military) authority unconditionally. No such training can pass any real moral tests.

In this way we see that only in an ideal society can social continuity entail 'good' moral education. And McClellan himself postulates such a utopian anarchist society, called Soo, which is organized solely in reference to morally acceptable educational practice: "Soo society is defined by a theory of education, including moral education." (p. 164). Most of all Soo tries to avoid indoctrination and coercion. McClellan certainly succeeds in showing that (say) indoctrination is not a logically necessary condition of all teaching. But what he does not show, and as far as I see, cannot show, is how a society like Soo could survive in the long run when exposed to various internal and external pressures. Soo does not seem to be a historical possibility.

All utopian social models share a problem: they are defined through some essentially normative ideal notions and, therefore, it is logically impossible that they could respond to such social, contingent pressures which causally demand an 'imperfect' reaction. For instance, the members of Soo might find themselves in a situation where a domestic famine and a foreign enemy together create a situation where heroic self-defensive efforts are needed. In these circumstances, some indoctrination, or propaganda, and even some coercion is needed to teach their new duties quickly to the citizens. Certainly McClellan has argues that it is not always necessary to indoctrinate if Soo is to survive. But even if it is not always necessary, it may sometimes be. And when such a crisis situation arises, are we to say that the social continuity of Soo has broken, namely, that it is now a new society that is coercing its members; or, can we say bluntly that an immoral tendency has emerged in Soo? Both lines of thought are equally artificial and thus unacceptable. We do not need a theory which says that a possible society exists such that no indoctrination is needed in it. We all know that it is a theoretically possible fiction. What we need is a theory which specifies some of the conditions under which indoctrination and

coercion are, or are not, to be allowed and which explains why that is the case. The crucial question is then the scope of the justification of these dubious practices.

I shall try to argue below that we should not judge coercion in a morally wholesale manner, meaning that if we follow McClellan and say that coercion as an interpersonal relation can be condemned once and for all, regardless of its social purpose and goal, we make the mistake of simplifying complex issues. Certainly it is true, that ceteris paribus coercion is bad; but it does not follow that it is unconditionally bad. On utilitarian grounds coercion is often quite easy to justify: a rather minor violence may save a much greater social value. Thus, we should analyze coercion in exact and detailed terms and show what elements of coercive interaction make it unacceptable in one context and at least tolerable in another context. More specifically, coercion is unacceptable in a two-person non-institutional context, but morally minimally acceptable in some social contexts, such as legitimized social power. Examples are justified defensive wars and prisons in democratic, reasonably just societies.

Let me try to show, as a counter-argument to McClellan's utopianism, how and why some action-strategies which are morally forbidden are used within legitimate states. We need a close analysis of coercive behavior in such terms that we see step by step what their possibly immoral elements are. McClellan himself, rather surprisingly, refuses to specify exactly why indoctrination is bad (see pp. 139 ff). I shall focus on coercion.

II

We need now a paradigmatic example. Notice that the following fixes our present range of interests as to the various poss-

ible types of coercion in the social world; we are dealing with the following type of case only: A is a teacher in a big city school and he tells student B that he must tell A who were cheating in examinations (or, he must do his homework) if he wants to avoid a serious beating. A is a determined inquirer who knows B, and B knows all this. The conditionally predicted harm to B is A's threat. Now, the coercive strength of A's action against B in the situation depends on some definite background factors, one of which certainly is the severity of the threat, consisting of the probability of its realization and of B's expected subjective loss, or pain. The latter factor is influenced mainly by B's preferences and values. Notice also that the probability of the occurrence of loss to B is dependent on B's own action, on A's determination to realize his intention and initial plans and, finally, on A's knowledge of B's objective and subjective characteristics. A should ideally know what B does not like and what he is afraid of, but normally this is not too difficult a task because there are things which hardly anyone will willingly tolerate, such as physical violence. In this way, certain obvious coercive possibilities always exist for a toughminded A. Indeed, rather primitive threats must be used in the case of young children and members of cultures foreign to A. Efficient coercion is then possible, but certainly difficult to justify.

Let me then mention a couple of additional background facts before moving on. First, when B enters, unwillingly of course, a coercive situation where he faces A it may well happen that B's earlier preference order and value code change because of the new incident. It follows, accordingly, that A's knowledge of B's preference and values, on the basis of which he has been planning his action against B, becomes relatively useless. B may be willing to tolerate rather extreme forms of subjective loss and to resist A in this way, if B is a person who thinks that coercion is wrong, shameful, socially dan-

gerous or simply irritating. If this is true, it seems that A must plan his action against in such a way that the threat A actually uses is directed against those aspects of B's preferences and values which are most likely to be immune to sudden changes. Therefore, A should focus on those things B is afraid of, and most people are afraid of rather similar things, such as physical violence. Let me repeat my basic idea: B may well be willing to accept subjective losses in a coercive situation because of his personal reaction to the situation itself: therefore A formulates his threat in such a way that B's feelings of dread become involved in it. Certainly it is possible to point out other strategies with effects similar to the use of dread, but a dread-like aversion seems to constitute a basic example in its own right.

Secondly, it is obvious that in order to be able to speak about threats at all we must suppose that A offers B a set of alternative actions to be realized such that whatever B actually does he will lose something. The only goal B can achieve is the minimization of his expected subjective loss, for instance his money or his bodily health. But if this is to be the case, A must be supposed to be able to tie B to the coercive situation which A creates. Otherwise B will escape; it is quite natural that B's basic motive in any coercive situation is that of avoidance, except in those cases where the threat-element is very weak. But by talking about fear in connection with our paradigmatic coercions we have in effect blocked the logical route to the idea that B might want to face and challenge A's threat. A is supposed to make it certain that he is in a superior position in relation to B, and this makes an efficient threat possible which in its turn implies that B will be tied to his present position.

Now, on the basis of the two points above it is clear that coercion reduces the initial degree of B's personal freedom, which is certainly not too surprising a discovery. Neverthe-

less, we must pay some attention to the correct explication of this familiar fact. First of all, B is not free to realize his first preference, namely to step out of the coercive interaction-situation with A; yet, B is indeed free to choose (say) between his friend's respect and physical pain. It is in no way impossible that B would ignore his fear and other primitive aversions and take the punishment before giving away his precious reputation. B is, therefore, relatively free even in the situation including A's oppressive action. But he is restrained with respect to the full range of his possible actions. It follows that B's choices are going to be suboptimal in relation to his complete preferences and values at the time of coercion. All this is simple but important: A can never make B completely unfree, and in this sense any absolutist notion of coercion is fictional. B will remain conditionally free and responsible for his choices under coercion. No agent can coerce another one so completely that the victim would have only one simple action-alternative open to him. The reason is self-evident: those actions which possibly interest a coercive agent, A, are always purposive and intentional and the occurrence of these features in the object person's behavioral pattern depends on his own choice. The idea here is that whatever the threat is you may choose to face its realized consequences. Notice that if B is reduced to simple passivity by means of imprisonment or bonds, B is not coerced in the sense in which we are now interested.

As I have said, B is free under coercion by A, but only relatively free. This basic fact leads us to observe that B can <u>resist</u> A if B is willing to pay the price. The fact of resistance is made interesting because the existence of threat implies that B, if he does not comply, is acting in some sense unpredictably or even <u>prima facie</u> irrationally. Let us see what this means.

The main idea here is that A wants - recall our earlier ex-

amples - B's information or obedience and, let us suppose, in order to get it he threatens B's well-being. Now, if B chooses to take the punishment, against all A's warranted beliefs concerning B's values and preference orderings, it follows that B has thereby successfully resisted A's coercive pressure. He has not, of course, been able to avoid A's general influence, that is, his choice cannot be understood without knowledge of A's intentions and goals in the situation; but he has, so to speak, evaded the point of A's coercive efforts. B has exercised his (limited) personal freedom. Yet, the price B pays is heavy indeed: he has suffered a considerable net loss and thus made his own individual rationality a questionable affair.

We must now pay more attention to this point concerning B's possible irrationality. It sounds interesting to ask whether B's contextually successful action against A's power against him can really be based on, and inevitably require, some irrational decisions on the part of B. Can irrationality lead to genuine defensive success? Notice one definite background point: we are discussing now a conceptual issue and not a mere empirical generalized observation; this is so because, as it seems to me, it is actually impossible to imagine that A could always prevent B from reacting against his (B's) own preferences and initial purposes, namely if A had a sufficiently well warranted and detailed set of beliefs concerning B's preferences and values. Actually, A cannot know B well enough to fix his personal choices. I am saying, accordingly, that B is in principle able to choose in a novel situation in relative independence of his earlier revealed preferences and values. Of course B's choices may be probable and predictable, but my main idea is that A has no possible way of fixing B's reactions in advance by means of some coercive threats. B may always nullify A's intentions, if B chooses to do so; it is another matter that often one may be able to assign a high probability to the proposition that he will not resist.

It is clear that in some cases of B's resistance to A his decisions and actions will appear irrational to any outside observer, however well-informed he might be. Is this real irrationality? B makes a decision which goes against the expectations of anybody who knows his preferences and values as well as it is possible on the basis of his full life-history. I personally cannot be coerced to take too firm a stand in this tricky issue. Therefore I am content to call the epistemic problem in question that of preference irrationality (p-irrationality, for short) and to suggest that we accept the phenomenologically necessary truth to the effect that B can indeed choose, if coerced by A, such an action alternative y which looks worse-to-B than some other alternative x. The same judgment of the relative value of x and y to B is made by any epistemically rational, maximally informed agent (≠ B), including A.

Let me next emphasize that I shall say nothing about the underlying decision-mechanism which in some special cases leads B to exercise his p-irrational freedom of choice under coercion. But I do think that it is humanly impossible to know enough to prevent B's p-irrationality by designing a modified coercive situation where B's objects of fear and his aversion to acts of coercion are taken into account in such a complete manner that B can no more escape A's coercive efforts. B can always evade A's intended point by escaping into p-irrational choices and decisions. Hegel puts this same point nicely when he writes in his Philosophy of Right that "only the will which allows itself to be coerced can in any way be coerced." (§ 91). A p-irrational agent cannot be coerced. And of course exactly the same is true of any agent whose preference orderings and value codes are confused and inconsistent, that is, who is really irrational.

As we have seen, the present type of coercion is not necessarily too disturbing or worrying as a social phenomenon: if B is

willing to tolerate the expected subjective losses, he can always make A's efforts pointless. And if the threat is not serious, he may well do so. It seems that even if some disproportionally strong threats are clearly immoral, the thing we call 'coercion' might quite well be morally neutral in itself. Nevertheless, this suggestion is not intuitive; or is it? Why do we think that individual coercion as such and independently of the type of threat is a social evil? The first, somewhat superficial answer is, of course, to be found in the suggestion that all B's action-alternatives, including the one demanding p-irrationality bring about multiple unearned losses to B. Yet, in some cases these losses may prove to be a blessing in the long run, say, because of their educational effects on B's character. A better answer to our question contains something novel, and its implications will occupy us further below: (a) A limits B's freedom and utilizes B's feelings of fear and other more extreme negative emotions and aversions; and (b) A's own action in a coercive situation implies contextual demands on A which are actually parallel to B's p-irrationality. In other words, I shall suggest that successful A acts in a peculiarly irrational way himself. When all these negative points are collected together we see why coercion is a not so very attractive interactive strategy from the moral perspective.

A's coercive strategy interests us further because of the following facts. When he initiates a coercive interaction with B, A provides B with a limited number of action-alternatives and he adds a suitable threat to some of them. One of those decisions which does not trigger off the realization of the threat is what A wants to get from B. However, in order to be able to squeeze exactly the desired response out of B, A must himself behave in a rather peculiar manner. I mean that A is supposed to fix his own reaction to B's possible counteractions in the coercive situation in advance and this makes A's behavior relatively rigid. The threat must be convincing.

As to the paradigmatic type of coercion, B should know that (i) A is not willing to negotiate and bargain with B in relation to the realization of his threat, and (ii) A will indeed act against B's welfare, come what may. These conditions seem to create the background of all coercion. Let me explain this point further.

It seems to be necessary that A be not open to any new suggestions concerning his conduct of their mutual exchange with B; and moreover, A should not be willing to reconsider or re-evaluate his own fate in case he is driven to realize his original threat. We find here a typical behavioral rigidity, which in a quite natural fashion follows from (i) and (ii) above, and which seems to constitute a necessary condition of any successful coercive action; this is the case in spite of the fact that both points (i) and (ii) allow for degrees, in the following way. A may discuss B's suffering in the situation, A may be worried about making himself a sadist, and he may for these reasons make his initial threat a little milder. Yet, the more A feels tempted to act in this 'soft' direction, the less convincing and effective his coercive position becomes; and the more rigidly he sticks to his original plan, the more fully he can utilize his coercive potential. All this presupposes, quite evidently, that A's initial coercive plan is strategically as nearly optimal as A's information-situation allows. If this last background condition is not satisfied, A can quite well be willing to correct his idea of the conduct of the present coercive situation in the light of some new information provided by B, whether B's information is transmitted explicitly and consciously or not. No weakening of the coercive effect will follow; quite the contrary. The only thing A must avoid is an explicit personal re-evaluation of the value of his goals and the costs its achievement will bring about. Threats must be convincing to B.

To continue, let us take a couple of additional simple ex-

amples. Student B emphatically reminds teacher A that by hurting him A violates the school-law which means some depressing personal prospects for the future. If A listens and now starts thinking of the consequences, his initial coercive position has also weakened considerably. Or B tells A a lie, saying that he has already complained about A and that he does not like to activate the complaint but now he must do so if A will not stop immediately. In this latter situation, A must necessarily suppress his emergent hesitation and the relevant beliefs. He has to refuse to listen to B. - Both these examples tend to make it clear that once A has completed his plan to be followed against B in the coercive situation in question, and when he starts his action, he must freeze his further judgments concerning both the objective, empirical features and the subjective value-aspects of the interaction. This is what I called A's rigidity above. We might call it 'commitment', 'determination' or 'stubborness' or whatever but the main fact is that without this relevant attitude A cannot be successful. Without rigidity A cannot stage a convincing coercive situation at all. However, it is a completely different matter that A may fail simply because B is right and he has already filed the complaint and he goes on promtly to seek for the promised help. Actually A did everything right, we may suppose, but he was unlucky. One cannot know and control everything in one's surroundings.

Coercion appears to be alienated action par excellence: A makes himself a mute weapon in the hands of his earlier self. This fact hints at definite moral qualms with respect to A's action. Moreover, it actually helps A and facilitates his task if B really believes that A is situationally hopelessly rigid, or even immoral and irrational in some colloquial sense of these terms. One cannot hope to influence the decisions and actions of such an agent except by force and violence. You do not talk to an attacking beast but you run for your dear life. The paradigmatic cases of 'hard' coercion are in fact anal-

ogous to those confrontations where a p-rational B faces such a well-informed agent A whose communication channels are seen to be closed and whose decision processes are paralysed. A is not unproblematically a complete agent in such an interaction situation. This seems to be basically true, but we are now dealing with an idealized basic paradigm of coercion upon which one can erect a complex system of coercive and counter-coercive moves and strategies, including elements of bluff, hoaxes, false threats, misleading information, secret clues, animal instincts, pity, sympathy, and more or less sensible risk-taking. We shall skip these many-sided psychological aspects of the simple basic case.

In the present perspective coercion is certainly a morally dubious mode of conduct: A's rigidity and B's potentially emerging p-irrationality tend to make all coercion inadvisable. Yet, it seems to be true that coercion is both widely used and even necessary in practice in all reasonably complex human societies. It is difficult to imagine a society where people need not influence each other against one's will. Coercion may thus have some laudable consequences. We can then study the social aspects of coercion and introduce some broader moral notions and theories into our inquiry.

III

McClellan is absolutely right when he expresses his opinion to the effect that indoctrination and coercion are something which must be avoided in education. We have already seen many reasons why this is so. But it is also true that under the various pressures of social life even such dubious methods will be used, and even then it will be difficult to say that in every case their use would be morally wrong. Those practices can in some special cases be (in practice) justified. Teachers carry an institutionalized social role, and thus

coercion may be demanded of them as part of their role. And the resisting students may well be supposed to perceive the fact, at least after maturing a bit, that from the point of view of the reproduction of the culture and their own future successful role in it, it may well be more useful to coerce them than to let them create rather randomly their own life-styles.

If indoctrination and coercion can be avoided in teaching in some standard social conditions, that should be done. But McClellan's arguments are too strong: in most cases the anarchist and utopian possibility of avoiding coercion always and completely must be forgotten, and a more realistic type of argument must take its place. Yet McClellan is right in one important respect, namely, education should be as free as possible of any elements of social power and domination. The main question concerns the real limits of this noble possibility.

I shall conclude by presenting two warnings. First, it is deceptively easy to conclude, like Alan Donagan has done, while discussing slavery, itself a form of coercion:

> "No social institution can create or destroy moral rights or duties. Hence the establishment of an institution in which, by the law of civil society, a human being is a piece of property neither confers any moral right to use him as such nor gives rise to any moral duty with respect to such things as the restitution of property. It was because they failed to perceive these consequences of their position that Christian moralists like Whewell, clearly though they understood that slavery was morally wrong, nevertheless mistakenly held that anybody in the antebellum United States was morally obliged to obey such laws as the Fugitive Slave Act, even though, by doing so, they would violate the moral rights of the slaves."

It is certainly true that no formally established or traditional social institution, including the law, can make what is immoral moral. All the laws must be judged according to the standards of ethics. (Whatever they are) Up to this point Donagan is right. But he errs when he dismisses the possibility that some individual and case-specific decisions which are made within institutional limits, and not privately, can be justifiable while similar individual and personal decisions are not. For instance, in some special situations coercion in schools (or at home) might be acceptable even if it is not so in private life. This follows because social life within a just social order contains decision mechanisms and controls which limit and govern the use of those dubious methods. Thus, what I am saying is that some ceteris paribus wrong action strategies are justifiable in institutional contexts but not in private interaction. This is one reason why we need a state formation and why we are so keenly interested in its justice. It allows us to use such often drastic methods of social power which otherwise would be impossible to apply.

Secondly, the laws and explicit prescriptions of how and when to use coercion and other similar methods should really be of a rather special, restricted character. Coercion should be made an exception. If its use is unconditionally prescribed in reaching some given ends this seems morally to justify it in those relevant situations. But perhaps this cannot be the case, as Donagan argues? Those prescriptions will be immoral as to their contents. Therefore, any laws and regulations which call for practices like coercion should be cancelled, if some special, institutional justificatory conditions are not specified. For instance, we cannot explicitly threaten all students as a precautionary method just to reinforce their future work motivation. How do we restrict the use of coercion?

If socially administered coercion is needed at all, the regu-

lations which direct its use should at least be of a special restricted form. They must not be unconditional. On the contrary, they must be of this type:

> Only if someone, B, can plausibly be expected to do x, a designated institutional agent, A, may use predictable and publicly known coercive threats y against B.

This is to say that B himself initiates A's use of coercion, and that A has such a role that B knows that A will apply coercion against him. Coercion is then a well-specified procedure whose application is conditional on B's will. A minimal notion is justifiable. Therefore Donagan's simple denial of the existence of a moral approach to such an institutional conduct that is individually forbidden is too hasty. Sometimes social action makes all the difference. It is rational to grant the state and its institutions a right to such conduct which we find utterly impossible to accept in the case of individuals. For example, only if student B can be expected to cheat in examinations can she be threatened by a forced search. In no other conditions can such rough methods be applied to her. However, I have now given only one necessary condition for the justification of coercion. The question of sufficiency is much more difficult. Coercion is highly undesirable in general.

FOOTNOTES

1. Prentice Hall Foundations of Philosophy Series, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1976. For an opposite view, see also G. Sher and W.J. Bennett, 'Moral education and indoctrination', Journal of Philosophy 79 (1982).

2. McClellan requires that the ideally acceptable educational practices embody the following principles (I must simplify here): P: The student wants to learn; and L: The student knows what the teacher is doing when he teaches (pp. 113, 104). Notice that both P and L create problems: (i) If educational content x is essential to the reproduction of culture, it is difficult to respect P in relation to x. (ii) If x' is, say, a new and culturally controversial idea, L may not allow for its transmission to students via teaching. These and other problems are discussed by McClellan, but in spite of his efforts I do not see how all teaching in all social conditions could respect P and L.

3. See, for example, Michael Taylor, Community, Anarchy and Liberty, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1982, pp. 14 ff.

4. Alan Gewirth, Reason and Morality, Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1978, develops this type of action theory.

5. Taylor, op.cit., confuses these issues on pp. 19-20.

6. T.M. Knox translation, Oxford University Press, New York, 1952 (original 1821).

7. Cf. C.C. Ryan, 'The normative concept of coercion', Mind 89 (1980).

8. See also T.C. Schelling, The Strategy of Conflict, Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA, 1981 (1960), Ch. I.

9. Alan Donagan, The Theory of Morality, Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1977, p. 97.

PHILOSOPHY FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF EDUCATION

by
Pertti Kansanen

1

Philosophy has always held a central position in educational research. Education, as other fields belonging to the human sciences, once was a part of philosophy and partially still is, although the relationship between education and philosophy is today viewed in another way. An educational researcher regards philosophy as an ancillary science to which recourse must be had in all educational research. Philosophy is not the only ancillary science of educational research, but without recourse to philosophy - whether conscious or unconscious - it is not possible to pursue educational research. The significance of the other ancillary sciences depends on the researcher's task and viewpoint. In Finnish educational sciences, the field focusing on philosophical problems of education has been called educational philosophy or philosophy of education in accordance with international practice, and it is thus regarded as a branch of educational sciences.

It is, of course, not self-evident that educational philosophy belongs within the scope of pedagogy; it can also be thought that the philosophy of education is an essential part of philosophy, one area of application of applied philosophy (Harva 1973, 16-17). What is essential is obviously the angle which is thus opened to view by the examination. In pedagogy, philosophy is required as a support for the study of the educational process; however, the examination of the actual educational process is mainly empirical in nature. From this

it follows that educational philosophy does not suffice alone to solve the problems of education appearing in practice; empirical study of the educational process is thus also needed. The purpose of the present article is to discuss the support provided by philosophy for the analysis and study of education, especially from the viewpoint of education and an educational researcher. The purpose of this underlining of the viewpoint is to emphasize the difference which exists between, on the one hand, a philosopher as he approaches the problems of education and, on the other hand, an educational researcher as he seeks support from philosophy. Soltis (1982) has pointed out that educational philosophers are usually professional philosophers interested in the problems of education. Evidently, the viewpoint of most of them has been philosophical. Beck (1974, 281-283) examines this viewpoint, which I have called philosophical, when he discusses the idea presented by Hirst, namely, "philosophy as second order inquiry". Beck puts the question: "How can one succesfully carry out second order inquiry without being familiar with the fruits of first order inquiry?" Even though the difference between the viewpoints mentioned here must not be emphasized in excess, noticing this difference is, however, an essential prerequisite for the presenting and solving of problems of educational philosophy.

Two viewpoints on educational philosophy have been presented above; of them, the philosophical viewpoint does not extent to practice, whereas the educational researcher's viewpoint has its origin in practice, the educational process. While the former is interested in ethical problems, in the latter the same interest finds its manifestation in a phase one step more practical, i.e. value judgments and objectives. Likewise, while according to the philosophical viewpoint what is examined is the origin and essence of the knowledge to be taught, what is interesting according to the educational researcher's viewpoint is the building of a curriculum on the basis of the knowledge to be taught, i.e. the reliability of

knowledge and its applicability in teaching. And furthermore, while the philosophical viewpoint endeavors to create a conception of man, the educational researcher views this same problem specifically from the perspective of the educational conception of man.

On the whole, the philosophy of education is independent of different schools of thought; it is any philosophy which can be used as support for education and educational research. Of course, a large proportion of educational philosophy is committed to schools of thought in situations in which the researcher has defined his point of departure by using the concepts and premises of a certain school. Even in those cases in which there is no conscious commitment, or it is not noticeable, it is always possible to detect as points of departure some characteristics of thinking which can be associated with one or several schools. In terms of the present discussion it is not, however, essential whether or not educational philosophy exists in general form; the purpose is to discuss the general task of educational philosophy from a formal viewpoint and the support provided by philosophy for the educational process and for educational research.

Problems with the scope of philosophy are, of course, not all equally relevant from the viewpoint of education. As the custom is to divide philosophy into branches, on the basis of the problems pondered in them there are more grounds for taking some of them up for analysis when the criterion is the educational process. Ethics and epistemology appear in the literature more often than others as such branches (cf. O'Connor 1957, Brubacher 1962, Peters 1966).

It is customary to base the division of philosophy into branches on the four areas listed by Kant; in addition to ethics and epistemology he had metaphysics and anthropology, the latter connecting all branches (cf. discussion by Lassahn

1983, 140-143). The importance of ethics for education is highly recognized, and often appeal is made to Herbart's conclusion, according to which ethics often shows the direction for education, whereas psychology provides for it practical methods of realization. Instead, discussion on the origin of knowledge, the nature of knowledge and the reliability of knowledge within epistemology is not as easily observable in the analysis of the educational process. Epistemology is connected specifically with the contents of education, whereas ethics is associated with the value background from which the goal and objectives of education are derived.

2

The task of ethics is to seek answers to the question what is good or what is right and, further, what the good life is like and what a good person is like. Thus, through ethics, it is possible to find the conception of an ideal person who can be the goal of education. Of course, the problems of ethics branch out into highly varied topics, but the problem most interesting in terms of education is the ideal of a good person. Through this, we arrive at analysis of values, and specifically analysis of social values.

In education, problems of value selection are always encountered in setting the objectives, and it is necessary to make value judgments. At that moment our own conception of the values and their origins becomes important. On the basis of this conception we accept some values, reject others, and actively search for suitable ones. Essential at this moment is how we are able to justify these values. The justification for its part depends on how we have solved the question of the origin of the values. Even if in society the broad lines of education have been settled, each educator or teacher in his own work is in one way or another involved with value judg-

ments and therefore in practice has to take a stand regarding the origin of the values. It can also be said that each educator has his own philosophy or his own philosophical grounds for these judgments.

Usually two alternatives are presented for the origin of values: to put it simply, values are either objective or subjective. Values are objective when their origin is viewed as being independent of the experiencing subject. In this case it is thought that values can be discovered through something supernatural or by intuition. Values are in this case also relatively unchanging and absolute. When the hierachy of values or a doctrine is constructed on this basis, the problem of value judgments is largely removed from the reach of the individual educator. Focusing criticism on such judgments is also not possible, since then it would be necessary to criticize the origin of the values, which is objective by nature. Of course, the situation is not in practice this simple, for the construction of a hierachy of values leaves a great deal of freedom in the work of an individual educator, even if he cannot challenge the underlying values of the objectives, nor can he act in contradiction with the a priori system of values.

Above, we have already proceeded to the level of an individual educator, and we notice that the question of the origin of values is, according to the situation, always different depending on how fundamental is the value judgment in question. If a problem is considered as a general problem, we can speak of objective and subjective values. If, instead, a problem is analyzed according to the levels of decision making in education, we arrive at more detailed classifications.

In Finnish society, values are in general regarded as subjective; the conception of what is good is based on the citizens' conceptions of right and wrong. Values are thus based on human

experience, and they are relative, i.e. they can change because of time, place, or circumstances. What is essential is, however, how values are justified. The educator notices the importance of values when he asks why people are educated, what kind of a person is the objective of education, and how people are educated. The problem of an individual educator or teacher is mainly the last of these, i.e. a problem of procedure. This leads us to ponder the objectives which have been set for education. This article is limited to institutional education, the objectives of which have already been defined by society. The teacher no longer has to ponder in his work the purpose of education or to develop objectives for education; instead, it is important that he understands the objectives and knows how to apply them to practice. In doing so he has to weigh the content of the objectives and, through that, the way in which the content is presented in the curriculum. Thus the teacher encounters the epistemological problems in practice; he becomes involved with ethical solutions mainly when selecting procedures in the teaching situation.

In non-institutional education (for example, home education), the situation is the same in the respect that the educator need not necessarily weigh the goal and purpose of education, since society has taken care of this in principle. Instead, the educational practice with its problems of procedure is a central ethical problem area also in non-institutional education.

For an educator or an educational researcher, ethical basic solutions are found in the objectives, in which they are thus manisfested. In Finnish practice it is customary to indicate the objectives in the curriculum. However, the indication of the objectives involves a large number of different problems, and the objectives are in general not indicated at the practical level. In any case, as regards the overall objectives, the teacher is dependent on the text of the curriculum, where-

as the specific objectives are most easily available through the teaching materials. Through the objectives the teacher receives information regarding the ethical principles with which he is expected to comply in his teaching. How they influence his thinking depends largely on how aware the teacher is of these objectives. The teacher can, however, act without knowing the objectives and still comply with the curriculum, since the use of the teaching materials ensures that the subject-specific objectives are realized. (Cf. Kansanen 1981.)

Regardless of what is the teacher's knowledge of the objectives, he must continually make decisions within the teaching process. In general, these decisions are based either on his own educational philosophy and the related ethical grounds, or on the objectives of the curriculum. These objectives can be in harmony with the teacher's own thinking, but they can also be contradictory to the teacher's thinking. However, regardless of how the teacher has understood the objectives of the curriculum, the problems appearing in teaching are nearly always basically ethical. When the criteria of teaching are found in the objectives, the teacher's activity can in this sense always be normative. Further, it can be concluded that teaching constantly involves application of normative ethics.

The teacher's power to solve ethical problems is thus limited, but, nevertheless, it is present in the practical teaching process to a great extent and continuously. If the teacher has internalized the objectives of the curriculum and acts in compliance with them, no contradiction arises between his personal philosophical view and the curriculum. If, on the other hand, the teacher is putting into practice a personal view which is not included in the curriculum, or which is not in compliance with the spirit of th curriculum, the teacher is taking upon himself the ethical responsibility for the teaching. The method by which the teacher endeavors to influ-

ence his pupils can also be referred back to an ethical solution. In this case the central problems will be the relationship between teaching and propaganda, and between teaching and indoctrination.

3

The selection and assessment of the content of teaching can be referred back to epistemology. Brauner and Burns (1965, 11) regard epistemology as the most important branch of philosophy from the viewpoint of education. In the teacher's task the most important viewpoint is perhaps factual expertise, not so much the production of knowledge. In practice, the curriculum is an application of epistelomogy; it presents the structure of knowledge as subjects and the reliability of knowledge as a description of the content of the subjects. What kind of knowledge is accepted into the curriculum and what status is given to this knowledge arise as important problems in teaching.

The curriculum is taken as the criterion for the educational activity in teaching, and the Finnish curriculum presents the objectives of teaching, the content of teaching, and also the procedures, i.e. the form of teaching. Such as this, the curriculum is an entity which contains a conception of man, the value background of teaching, and the culture content which is concretized in the teaching process through the subjects. When the curriculum is examined from the perspective of the different branches of philosophy, ethics thus provides the background for the value judgments, and justifications for the informative material to be presented in teaching will be obtained through epistemology. Other kinds of problems will also be encountered in preparing the curriculum; in particular the taking into account of the student's age level and the clarification of the essence of learning presupposes that the

psychological determinant is taken into account (cf. Taba 1962).

The relationship between the ethical viewpoint and the epistemological viewpoint can be described in the manner of, for example, Schofield (1972, 123-124), in such a way that the knowledge which is selected as being worth teaching is determined by the objectives of teaching, and this is thus always a value judgment. Instead, what of the thus selected content will be taught, i.e. the analysis of the content to be taught, is mainly an epistemological problem. The manifestation of the content itself in its different forms, and its organization into areas which most commonly are called subjects, is a central viewpoint of this latter problem.

From the educator's viewpoint it is important to distinguish between the concepts of "knowing that" and "knowing how" (Ryle 1949; cf. for example Brubacher 1962, 162-168). The difference lies between knowing something and knowing how to do something. This viewpoint places the content of teaching in a new light in that the boundary between the knowledge to be taught and the procedures to be applied in teaching is obscured. The content of teaching does not consist only of subject matter, but the use of certain procedures links to it contents of the method. Procedures are thus not neutral in their content, and not alternative, but they involve certain independent characteristics. When, for example, developing the skill of cooperation may be presented as an objective of education, group work, for example, may be used as one procedure without there being any factual content pertaining to cooperation included in the teaching.

Examination of the content of teaching by dividing it into "facts" and "skills" also broadens the epistemological analysis of content. Such broadening is not, however, without problems. For example, Henderson (1961, 43-58) limits the

content to facts, but includes in facts prescriptions and value statements, which Soltis (1968, 29) criticizes, with reason. From the theoretical viewpoint of the teaching process the broadening of the content to comprise "skills" is logical, since such content is in any case subordinate to objectives and such elements of the content cannot be disregarded in the teaching process. From the viewpoint of learning, the analysis resembles Kilpatrick's term "simultaneous learning".

The significance of both ethics and epistemology from the viewpoint of education has been discussed above, and both of them have been analyzed separately. The selection of the content is a decision pertaining primarily to the reliability of knowledge, and the content to be taught is in principle determined according to how reliable it is. But, when the content at the same time serves decisions regarding the objective, it will be necessary also to weigh the importance of the content according to the criteria obtained from the objectives. Through this, content selections and decisions are also value judgments. When the relationship between value judgment pertaining to the content and those pertaining to ethics is pondered, it will be observed that content decisions largely also cover procedures in the sense that the selection of the procedure is not neutral with respect to content. On the other hand, it should also be noted that so-called ethical judgments are also not neutral with respect to the content. In practice, both ethical and epistemological judgments are manifested as one entity, an act or activity, and they cannot be separated from each other.

Though the content of teaching has been discussed above broadly, i.e. in such a way that it also includes elements pertaining to procedures, this examination is by no means exhaustive with respect to procedures. In the teacher's work the content is often to a high degree given, and so the teacher's jurisdiction is thereby limited. With respect to the procedures the

teacher has wider relative freedom; in principle this freedom is n is thereby limited. With respect to the procedures the teacher has wider relative freedom; in principle this freedom is restricted only by practical factors and the possible number of procedures. Of course, expertise regarding the content regulates the teachers's activity, and the problem to which extent this expertise restricts or widens the teacher's possibilities for action is interesting. If the content of teaching is regulated strongly by means of the teaching materials, the procedures obtain a larger importance. Evidently, simultaneous learning linked with procedures can be used for regulating teaching in such a way that the objectives which are not included in the actual content of the subject can be taken into account.

4

Education cannot, nor can pedagogy, disregard the question of the essence of man and the purpose of education in relation to man. It can be claimed that each educator has some kind of conception of an ideal person, which is the goal of his endeavours to influence. This conception of man may be either conscious or unconscious, but in any case it can be considered the core of educational activity.

The analysis of the conception of man can be referred back to the question put forward by Kant, "Was ist der Mensch?". This question of Kant ties all the specific questions dealing with man into a whole and at the same time forms a basis for anthropology. Kant's question has also often been a point of departure for pedagogic anthropology (cf. Harva 1973, 12-23; Lassahn 1983, 7-10). Within pedagogic anthropology, man is examined from the viewpoint of education (also see Scheuerl 1982). Thus though education is interested specifically in pedagogic anthropology, it cannot examine that as being separ-

ate from philosophical anthropology, which thus endeavours to form a whole of all the problems and results of the human sciences.

Pedagogic anthropology thus binds the ethical and the epistemological problems of education into a whole, and it has to lean on philosophical anthropology in order that our conception of man should be as comprehensive as possible. The problem is in part empirical, in which case the knowledge of neighboring sciences is needed, for example, of biology, psychology and sociology. In part the problem is speculative, in which case especially the means of philosophy are used for forming a whole of the results of different human sciences.

The viewpoints presented above regarding the connection between philosophy and education are manifested concretely in the curriculum, which presents the goal of education, the ideal person towards which education strives. In non-institutional education this goal is manifested in the educator's purposes, in his thoughts. In Finnish practice it is common custom to declare in the curriculum the goal of education and the derived objectives. Thus the origin of the objectives and their ethical and epistemological content can be analyzed explicitly. The purposes of the educator cannot be studied as unambiguously; in addition to observing the teaching process we must also receive information from the educator himself. We have to ask about his conception of man, as well as about the purposes and goals of his actitivity.

All in all, philosophy is necessary from the viewpoint of education. The role of philosophy is so great that it can be asked whether educational sciences belong to the so-called rational sciences rather than the empirical ones. On the one hand, educational research is impossible without an empirical grasp; on the other hand, it cannot be mere empiricism. In all educational research and practice it is necessary in some way

to take a stand regarding the ethical and epistemological questions of education, and these questions again are subordinate to the conception of man that we as researchers or educators entertain.

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EDUCATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS AND RESEARCH CONCERNING THEIR EDUCATION IN FINLAND

by
Hannele Niemi

1. Secondary school teachers in the Finnish educational system

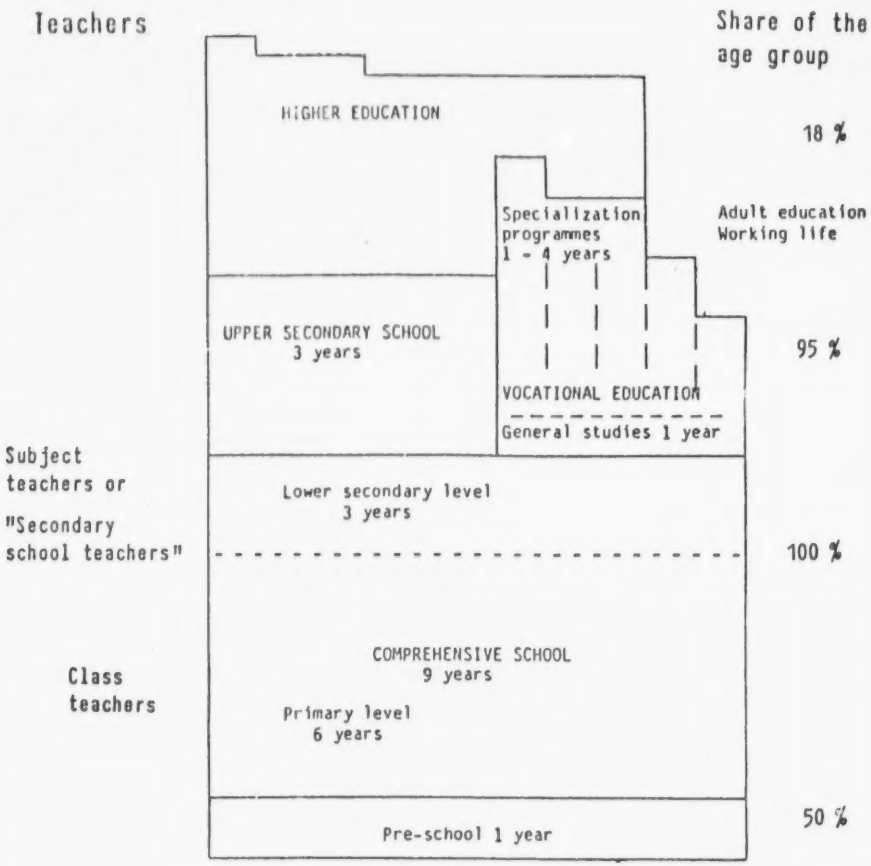
The education system in Finland has undergone profound changes since the early 1970s. The compulsory nine-year comprehensive school was introduced in the 1970s, followed by a reform of the secondary school providing general education and the vocational education a uniform secondary education system.

Most of the education system in Finland is public. Primary education is administered by the municipalities, and the secondary education institutions by the municipalities, associations of municipalities, the state, and in some cases also private foundations. All higher education institutions are endowed with administrative autonomy but are subordinate to the Ministry of Education. (Ministry of Education 1983,9.)

Comprehensive school

The comprehensive school in Finland takes nine years and is divided between the six-year lower level and the three-year upper level school. The instruction on the lower level is given by class teachers with a general training in education. The teaching on the upper level is done by subject teachers specialized in one or two subjects.

Figure 1. Chart of the education system



As a rule the pupils begin comprehensive school the year when they reach the age of seven. The comprehensive school is compulsory and free of charge for all. The pupils receive all textbooks and other study material, as well as one meal a day.

For pupils who live a long way from school, free transportation and, if necessary, accommodation are arranged. (Ministry of Education 1983, 9.)

Upper secondary school education

The three-year upper secondary school provides general education. The main function of the upper secondary school is still to prepare for university-level studies, although only 50 % of the matriculated students can be admitted to the higher education institutions. (Ministry of Education 1983, 9.)

The comprehensive school has class teachers who teach all the subjects in the curriculum at the lower level of the comprehensive school. They teach pupils between the ages of 7 and 11.

The education of class teachers takes place in universities and consist of 160 credit units of study. One credit unit is defined as an average of 40 hours of work by the student. In theory it means that a class teacher could be qualified in four to five years. The degree is the Candidate of Education and it essentially corresponds to the Candidate of Philosophy or Master of Arts.

Subject teachers are specialized in 1 - 2 subjects at the upper level of the comprehensive school and the upper secondary school. In special cases they can also give instruction at the lower level of comprehensive school as well, e.g. in

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1 One credit unit refers to the input of work required to complete a certain block of studies, and it may include lectures, exercises, independent reading etc.

foreign languages. Usually subject teachers teach pupils between the ages of 12 - 18.

The education of subject teachers includes at least 160 credit units; 40 of these are pedagogical studies at the Department of Education. The final degree is Master of Arts, Master of Science, or Master of Theology, depending on their main subject.

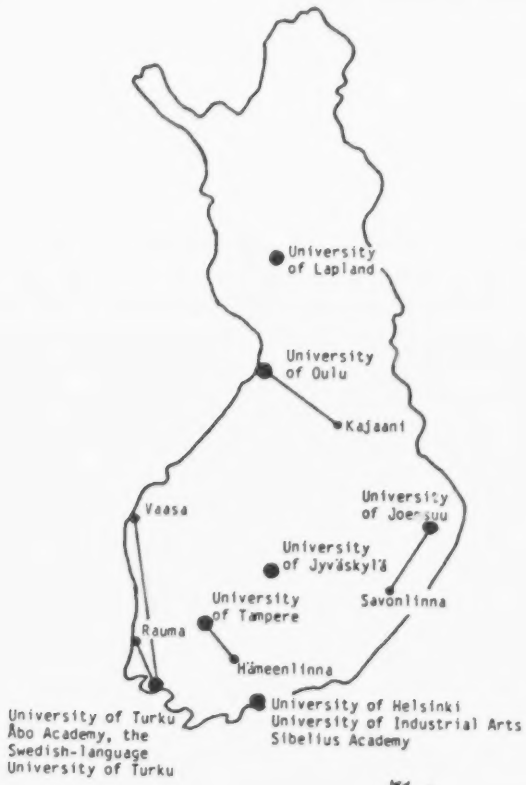
In this paper the term "secondary school teachers" is used for the school system's subject teachers, to make international comparisons easier even though in the Finnish school system there is no such institution as the secondary school.

The secondary education system is being reformed. This line of action was stipulated in the Act on the Development of Secondary Education in 1978. In accordance with this Act, the comprehensive school principle has been adopted in the development of secondary education. This does not mean, however, that the upper secondary schools and vocational institutions would be merged into one secondary school system, but rather that these two forms of education should be developed on the basis of unified educational goals, while still retaining their special characteristics. Instruction both in upper secondary schools and in vocational institutions should promote the development and enrichment of the student's personality, provide the necessary skills for entering the labour market and society at large as well as the basis for the selection of a trade or profession and lay the foundation for further studies. Furthermore, it should instill favourable attitudes towards both national culture and international cooperation in addition to promoting equality between the sexes. This also means the possibility of advancing to higher education through secondary vocational institutions. (Ministry of Education 1984, 6.)

2. Education of secondary school teachers in Finland

The present organization of teacher education is based on the 1971 Act on teacher education. Since 1975 the institutions of higher education have taken care of the basic education of comprehensive and upper secondary school teachers. Figure 2 presents the institutions of higher education which organize teacher education in Finland. Ministry of Education 1981 100.)

Figure 2. Institutions of higher education providing education for comprehensive and upper secondary school teachers

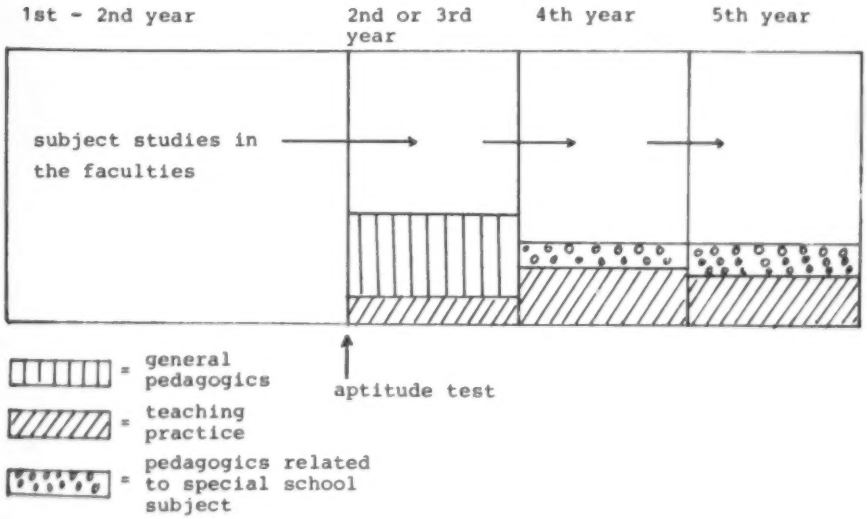


The Finnish higher education system has undergone a large degree and syllabus reform, in accordance with the national statute concerning degrees and studies in the educational sciences (29.6.1979). The education of secondary school teachers has been both structurally and internally revised.

For the first one or two years students study subjects in the faculties. Then side by side with the subject studies they begin their educational studies. The amount of those studies is 40 credit units. The integration of subject studies and educational studies is a new system in secondary school teacher education. Earlier students had to first take their degrees in the subject faculties. After that they could enter teacher education, which required studies of one year. This is still possible nowadays, with the educational study of 40 credit units taken separately in one year after the degree, but this alternative is continually decreasing.

In the new system, after one or two years of study students can seek admission to teacher education. They put in an application for an aptitude test, the main principle of which is to test the applicants' aptitude and ability for the teaching profession. In the old system selection for pedagogical training took place after the completion of the degree in higher education and was based entirely on application papers. The applicants' aptitude for teaching was not tested. The structure of the new secondary school teacher education is described in the following model.

Figure 3. The structure of the secondary school teacher education



The educational studies of the secondary school teachers consists of following studyblocks at the University of Helsinki.

Educational studies of secondary school teachers

1. General pedagogics	hours lessons	hours groupwork	credit units
- preliminary examination			0,5
- philosophical foundations	22		2
- psychology	32	6	3
- special psychology	16		1
- teaching-learning process	22	14	2
- educational research methods	30		2
- school administration	10		1
- final examination			0,5
			12

2. Pedagogics related to school subjects	hours lessons	hours groupwork	credit units
(students divided into groups according to their subjects)			
- lessons concerning teaching methods, teaching learning processes and the newest research results in the students' own teaching subjects	20	20	2
- planning exercises: how to plan teaching in special subjects taking into consideration pupils' all-around development and the newest educational technology		20	1
- evaluation exercises: how to evaluate pupils' levels and progress and teaching-learning processes		20	1
- research seminar related to pedagogy of the subject: participants do scientific reseach concerning the problems of their own teaching subject		56	5/9

3. Teaching practice	hours lessons	hours groupwork	credit units
1. The initial practice			4
- microteaching groups			
- observing school life and lessons			
2. The basic practice			8
a. practising various teaching methods in practice schools of the university for ten weeks and			
b. practising in an ordinary school as a teacher for one month			
3. final practice			7
- for twelve weeks in the practice schools of the university			
- students' teaching skills are evaluated for an examination report (for qualification)			
			19

3. Research on the education of secondary school teachers in Finland

Until 1980 there had been very little research work concerning secondary school teacher education. Most teacher education research projects have concentrated on class teachers' education. There have been two basic areas of research work. One has been the process of class teacher education and the other the admission and selection to teacher education. (Kansanen 1983.) We should, however, see how important a group secondary school teachers are from the viewpoint of pupils' all-round development and pupils' vocational selections and also from the point of view of the development and productivity of society. It has very often been an idea that a secondary school teacher is only a representative of the academic subject. They have not been regarded as educators who take care of both pupils' cognitive and affective development. Their main task has been to transfer knowledge to pupils. Their personal qualities have been a question of secondary importance. This has been reflected in there not having been any aptitude test for secondary school teachers. On the other hand class teachers have been tested for many decades.

In recent years interest in secondary school teacher education has increased. At the University of Jyväskylä project on the changes of students' vocational orientations and socialization process during academic studies has been started. The important viewpoint is the status and significance of secondary school teachers' vocation in orientation development.

Panhelainen has researched the appearance of subject teacher's profession in the career plans of applicants into higher education. The social status of teaching profession has declined drasticly in the last few decades. The vocational orientation of applicants into subject teacher education is

also often weaker and more obscure than in many other fields of higher education. These factors have their effect on professional socialization during education. In 1980 a new educational system was introduced into Finnish higher education requiring that subject teacher trainees make their career decision by the end of the second year. A follow-up study in the field of the humanities and natural sciences showed that depending on the applicant group fairly few students, only 2 - 18 % of the applicants, were interested in subject teacher education in the application situation. Also on the whole most applicants had these fields as secondary places in their plans for further studies. (Panhelainen 1981; 1984.)

There has been a project also at the University of Joensuu concerning students' vocational orientation, vocational commitment and career choice satisfaction. One student group which was followed during its academic study time was potential secondary school teachers. It was found that they did not have as clear an orientation to the teaching profession as class teachers or kindergarten teachers had. They had a low commitment to the teaching profession and low career satisfaction. They also had doubts of their own abilities and interests to become teachers. (Perho 1984.) Students also felt a conflict between their own competence and the teacher ideal. At University of Oulu attention has been paid to aptitude tests of secondary school teacher education (Hämäläinen 1980).

A research project on secondary school teacher education has been started at University of Helsinki by H. Niemi. The aim is to determine what the students' cognitive affective growth process is during teacher education. The main intention is to search for information on how to develop teacher education qualitatively. As a frame of reference is Lewin's idea about behavior B = f(P, E). The fundamental viewpoint is that when teacher education is developed we should have information about students' individual qualities or traits such as person-

ality, attitudes needs etc. (person, 'P'), education environment organized by the teacher educator 'E', and also teacher's tasks when working in a teacher's role 'T'. The processes and products of students' learning (B, behavior) are functions of these determinants B = P x E x T. (McNergney 1982, 11; Hunt 1975.) It is important to have information about all these elements and, still more important, to find some connections between determinants (Niemi 1984a; Niemi 1984b).

The first phase of fhe secondary school teacher education project in Helsinki has been concerned with stundents who studied in 1979. They all had earned their academic degrees and they had studied in the previous teacher education system. But the contents of training were revised and theoretical aspects of the teaching-learning process studies had increased. The results of that research period are now available and are introduced later on. It is the intention to continue the project and direct it toward those students at the University of Helsinki who are concurrently studying pedagogical studies, teaching practice and academic subjects, in accordance with the new system.

4. The design and method of the secondary school teacher education project in Helsinki

The nature on the project is an empirical survey. There were two measuring points during the year. The first was at the beginning of the term and the second at the end of studies in the spring. The measurements concerned all student teachers at the Department of Education in Helsinki who intend to become secondary school teachers. When representatives of different school subjects were included the number was 232 in the autumn term. In the spring term 203 of them continued their studies. In this research almost all the students were from autumn (N =

230). In the spring 85,6 % of the students were contacted (N = 187). (Niemi 1984a, 7.)

The aims on research were to find (1) students' personality traits and teacher role attitudes, (2) what connections exist between personality, attitudes, problems in teacher's tasks and teaching skill grade and (3) how students evaluate their teacher education and how they would like to develop it qualitatively. (Niemi 1984a, 6.)

The personality measurements were made in reference to R. B. Cattell's personality theory (Cattell 1965). There were 15 traits of 16 PF (excluding intelligence) and students estimated their own behavior with 45 adjective opposites, as in the semantical differential method. The items concerned students' own behavior and were more direct than Cattell's 16 PF. The aim was to extract broad personality dimensions resembling Cattell's second order factors more than primary traits.

The Teacher Preference A-Scale of Masling and Stern was used to measure attitudes (Masling - Stern 1966). It was slightly adapted to be more suitable for Finnish school conditions. Both personality and attitude measurements were made at the very beginning of the students' teacher education year in September in order to see how they would predict success or problems during the training year.

At the end of the final term in April problems which the students had in teacher's tasks were measured. The students also evaluated what kind of emotional feelings they had had during the year concerning the teachers' education period. This questionnaire was worked out in the reference to Cattell's Adjustment Process Analysis Chart (Cattell - Scheier 1961, 306-307; Cattell - Child 1975, 178-183). It was the hypothesis that the training year consists of many challenges in which students must work very hard and some students can

succeed better than others depending on their personality traits (Niemi 1984b, 23-25).

Students were also asked to write their evaluations of the teacher education they had had. They evaluated what had been the best and the worst during the training and in which way they would like to develop the education.

5. Results

The following personality dimensions were accepted when criterion is regarded high reliability (homogeneity estimated with Cronbach's Alfa > .80).

1. <u>Anxiety</u>	vs.	<u>Integration</u>	(α = .83)
restless		calm	
nervous		not nervous	
anxious		adjusted	
fearful		fearless	

resembling Cattell's dimensions Q_4 + O (FQII)

2. <u>Traditionalism</u>	vs.	<u>Originality</u>	(α = .85)
conservative		liberal	
cautious		risk taking	
traditional		fond of innovation	
conventional		unconventional	
adaptive		original	

resembling Cattell's dimensions Q_1 + M

3. <u>Ego weakness</u>	vs.	<u>Ego strength</u>	(α = .89)
insecure		secure	
dependent		independent	
timid		bold	
submissive		dominant	
low self control		high self control	
indecisive		decisive	
low self esteem		high self esteem	
fear of feed back		tolerant of feed back	
pessimistic		optimistic	

resembling Catytell's dimensions Q_3 + E + C

4. Introversion	vs.	Extroversion	(α = .86)
comtemplative		energetic	
shy		social	
fearful of quarrels		fearless of quarrels	
withdrawn		active	
melancholic		cheerful	
unenthustiastic		enthustiastic	
quiet		talkative	
reserved		unreserved	
emotionally cool		emotionally warm	
unsociable		sociable	

resembling Cattell's dimensions H + A + I (FQII)

5. Unconscientious	vs.	Conscientious	(α = .81)
unconsiderate		considerate	
careless		careful	
rude		refined	
negligent		conscientious	
not punctual		punctual	
broadminded		exact	

resembling Cattell's dimensions Q_3 + G

(Niemi 1984a, 22 - 23)

When attitude items were factoranalyzed eight dimensions were accepted. Four of them were pupil-centred attitudes and four teacher-centred attitudes. Even though single dimensions were not exactly similar to Masling - Stern due to some changes when the questionaire was adapted to Finnish research there are the same ideas about teacher-centreness and pupil-centreness as Masling and Stern had. The following dimensions were extracted:

Pupil-centred attitude -dimensions:

1. An active contributor in social and cultural life outside school lessons concerning educational questions (α = .78)
2. An advocate of pupil-centred teaching methods (α = .67)
3. An emphasizer of emotional warmth in teaching (α = .67)
4. A friend of pupils (α = .76)

Teacher-centred attitudes - dimensions:

5. A respecter of authorities and norms (α = .81)
6. A formal official in the teaching profession (α = .67)
7. An impersonal and withdrawn teacher in classroom interaction (α = .62)
8. A respecter of teacher's professional status (α = .65)

(Niemi 1984a, 34)

It was found that there were big differences among students in personality traits and attitudes not only when students were compared as individuals but also when students were grouped in accordance to their teaching subjects (Table 1 and 2).

Table 1. Personality traits of student teachers (Niemi 1984a, 27)

Subjects	Anxiety	Traditionalism	Ego weakness	Introversion	Unconscientious
1. Religion	14.22	21.72	34.28	38.22	22.22
2. Finnish	13.90	18.26	33.89	36.86	18.37
3. History	12.86	20.29	31.07	34.57	19.93
4. Biology/geography	11.67	18.67	31.00	34.78	23.00
5. Maths, physics, chemistry	11.66	20.75	33.25	38.54	19.16
6. Swedish	11.47	22.06	32.35	35.41	19.29
7. English	11.63	18.43	27.90	32.30	18.23
8. German	9.50	20.00	29.75	35.63	15.88
9. French	11.78	18.78	28.22	28.56	14.78
10. Russian	10.43	18.29	28.57	29.43	17.14
11. Physical education	16.08	18.08	30.67	27.50	19.42
12. Music	12.00	19.00	25.55	26.43	19.71
13. Visual Arts	13.70	14.65	33.00	36.13	23.04
All M	12.47	19.31	31.55	34.97	19.50
s	4.24	5.22	8.49	8.99	5.54
Range of variation	4 - 25 (4 items)	5 - 32 (5 items)	12 - 60 (9 items)	10 - 59 (10 items)	7 - 35 (6 items)

Subjects	Pupil-centred attitudes				Teacher-centred attitudes			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Religion	30.33	33.72	40.28	28.00	29.50	25.94	15.61	20.28
2. Finnish	31.11	36.37	41.90	28.16	24.37	28.68	15.68	17.11
3. History	31.64	33.79	39.36	28.64	25.38	27.14	17.50	17.14
4. Biology/geogr.	31.33	37.22	41.78	30.44	28.33	30.11	18.00	20.00
5. Maths, physics, chemistry	30.00	33.77	38.04	29.23	29.14	28.61	17.71	18.95
6. Swedish	31.12	35.41	41.47	30.00	30.77	29.88	18.47	20.82
7. English	32.43	35.83	40.57	29.00	26.33	26.47	16.20	17.90
8. German	34.38	37.25	38.50	29.75	28.38	25.38	17.23	19.13
9. French	35.56	39.22	40.89	30.89	28.22	25.11	18.00	18.22
10. Russian	31.86	33.14	40.23	27.86	27.36	23.71	17.29	20.57
11. Phys. education	37.83	39.83	40.58	32.08	25.75	24.08	14.58	17.50
12. Music	33.14	33.43	37.31	29.00	25.00	25.43	17.14	18.43
13. Visual Arts	37.57	38.04	40.61	31.30	21.30	23.74	14.83	17.70
All M	32.34	35.54	39.90	29.45	27.05	26.95	16.78	18.63
s	6.10	5.49	4.61	5.53	6.86	5.94	4.40	4.78
Range of variation	13-46 (8 items)	13-48 (8 items)	20-48 (8 items)	14-42 (7 items)	11-47 (8 items)	9-46 (8 items)	8-28 (8 items)	8-32 (8 items)

Table 2. Role attitudes of student teachers (Niemi 1984a, 38)

Some subject groups expressed very strong pupil-centred attitudes. It shows that not all secondary school teachers considered themselves only as representatives of their subjects. On the other hand some subject groups were less pupil-centred, e.g. teachers of math and religion. It is a challenge to teacher-educators how to help them combine their abstract subject with pupils life.

Correlation between personality, attitudes and teaching problems are in the following table (3).

Table 3. Correlations between personality traits, role attitudes and teaching problems (Niemi 1984a, 40; Niemi 1984b, 20)

Personality traits	Role attitudes: pupil-centred 1 2 3 4	Role attitudes: teacher-centred 5 6 7 8	Problems in teaching (only problems, which had correlations > 20): flexible interaction	expressive and stimulating delivery	preparing lessons	understanding pupils' emotional reactions	mastering teaching subjects
1. Anxiety							
2. Traditionalism	-33 -19 -19	43 24 19		22		22	
3. Ego weakness	-25	14 14					22
4. Introversion	-30	15 17	33	30	26	24	
5. Unconscientious		-27					

It was found that there were statistically significant correlations between personality traits and attitudes towards the teacher's role. Students who were introverted didn't like to be active contributors to social and cultural life outside school lessons (-30) and they also preferred to be formal officials in the teaching profession (17) and emphasized authoritics and norms (15). Those who had weak ego-concepts didn't like to be active contributors either (-25), and they also liked to be remote officials and impersonal teachers (14).

Traditionalism - Originality had the most relations to attitude-dimensions. Traditional students didn't like to be active con-

tributors to social and cultural life (-33), they didn't appreciate being the pupils' friend (-19). They liked to respect authorities and norms (43) and liked to be formal officials (24) and impersonal (19) in teaching.

When seeking relations between personality and problems in teaching interesting correlations were found. Introverted students had problems in creating flexible interaction in classrooms (33), finding lively and inspired delivery (30), preparing lessons beforehand (26) and understanding pupils' emotional reactions (24).

It was also found that the more traditional the students were, the more difficult it was for them to find expressive and stimulating delivery (22) and to understand pupils' emotional reactions (22). The weaker the ego the student had, the more difficult it was to feel competence in mastering the teaching subject (22).

Personality traits also had a very important role when seeking relations to sentiments during teacher training year. Sentiments are described in Table 4, where we can see that students were very tired and excited. But they also had many kinds of positive emotions.

Sentiments were factorized and three very clear dimensions appeared: I Mental anxiety, II Psychosomatic anxiety and III Pleasure and Satisfaction. Correlation between personality- and sentiment-dimensions are in Table 5.

Table 4. Sentiments during the teacher education year (Niemi 1984b, 27)

Sentiments	"How have you felt"				
	not in the least	rarely	some-times	often	very often
	1	2	3	4	5
1. tiredness		6.2	37.6	34.3	20.8
2. anxiety	12.4	30.3	38.8	12.4	5.1
3. desperateness	36.0	34.3	20.2	7.3	1.1
4. depression	18.5	30.9	36.5	9.6	3.4
5. headache	32.6	34.8	19.7	9.6	1.7
6. stomach ache	54.5	23.0	15.7	2.3	2.8
7. feel sick	70.2	16.3	8.4	2.8	0.0
8. sleeplessness	37.6	32.0	21.4	5.6	1.7
9. restlessness	18.5	28.1	36.5	11.2	4.5
10. tension	5.1	21.4	37.6	25.8	9.0
11. bitterness	48.9	27.5	17.4	3.9	1.1
12. disappointment	17.4	32.0	33.2	11.2	5.1
13. aggression	48.3	30.3	16.3	2.3	1.7
14. failure	8.4	28.7	50.6	9.0	1.7
15. wish to break up studies	60.1	19.7	9.6	6.2	2.8
16. complaining	12.9	20.2	34.8	21.4	9.0
17. anger	19.1	32.0	33.7	11.8	2.3
18. disgust	58.4	21.4	12.4	5.6	1.1
19. apathy	53.4	29.2	11.2	2.8	2.3
20. hate	64.6	23.0	6.7	2.8	1.1
21. satisfaction	1.1	13.5	48.3	30.9	5.1
22. pleasure	1.7	17.4	50.0	25.3	4.5
23. enthusiasm	0.0	14.0	47.8	28.7	8.4
24. cheerfulness	0.6	11.2	48.9	33.2	4.5
25. courage	1.1	13.5	46.6	34.3	3.4
26. enterprising	0.0	5.1	30.9	48.9	14.4
27. hopefulness	1.1	12.4	36.5	40.6	7.9
28. powerfulness	6.2	23.0	50.0	15.2	3.4
29. effort	0.6	6.7	25.3	47.8	17.4
30. peacefulness	2.3	11.8	37.6	39.9	8.7

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Table 5. Correlations between personality traits, role attitudes, sentiments during teacher education time and teaching skill grade after the practice (Niemi 1984b, 29)

	I Mental anxiety	II Psychosomatic anxiety	III Pleasure and satisfaction
Personality traits			
1. Anxiety	17	26	
2. Traditionalism			
3. Ego weakness		18	-20
4. Introversion			-18
5. Unconscientious	23		-25
Role attitudes			
Pupil-centred 1.	16		
2.	20		
3.	19		
4.	24		
Teacher-centred 5.	-15		
6.			
7.			
8.			
Teaching skill grade	-19	-16	28

Those students who at the beginning of the term were at anxious in their personality traits and who had weak egos had the most psychosomatic symptoms and anxious sentiments. Those students who were extroverted and conscientious and had strong egos had the most pleasure and satisfaction.

It was amazing that there were not any relations between personality and teaching skill (excluding a weak correlation to traditionalism 14). But there are significant relations between sentiments during the year and teaching skill grade. The more pleasure and satisfaction there were during the term,

the better the teaching skill grade after the training year. The more mental and psychosomatic anxiety students had during the training the lower grade they had in the end. In sum we can say that personality is an important predictor of teaching problems and certain kinds of sentiments. On the other hand sentiments can predict how to succeed in training. The time of teacher education is very hard work and there are many frustrating situations. How students cope with these situations and find positive solutions is a critical point. If they are able to strain they have many chances for success. Effort and pleasure sentiments correlate very strongly (.20 - .58).

There were also very interesting correlations between teacher role attitudes and emotional sentiments. The more pupilcentred students are, the more they have psychosomatic anxiety. Evidently it is very difficult to carry on pupilcentredness during practice time. The contacts with pupils are rare and it is not easy to create conditions where pupilcentredness can have a positive manifestation. How to help students carry on pupilcentredness without strong anxiety is also an area to which educators should pay attention.

We should ask how educators could support students so that they would work intensively, get more pleasure and possibly also have a good teaching skill level. That was also what students themselves asked when writing feedback about their education. Students were very satisfied with the professional features of education and gave a lot of thanks for school practise. They critised teacher education and educators for not caring enough about students' individual traits or qualities and characteristics. They felt they needed more support and encouragement during the training time. They felt themselves very tired and busy and stressed in being evaluated. They hoped that humanistic features in education could increase. They also critised somewhat the academic and scientific nature of teacher education but didn't want to remove it.

They hoped that there would be better integration internally and temporarily between theory and practise.

6. Conclusions

Connections between personality and teaching problems and between personality and sentiments point out at least two important aspects. First they indicate how important it is that there are aptitude tests for secondary school teachers also. The students in this research didn't have any test because they have studied under the old system. Research should be directed to students selection of secondary school teachers. And secondly it would be important to seek ways to support students' individual growth into the profession of secondary school teacher. There is not just one way to develop into a teacher. We should try to determine those ways in every individual situation. We should find out how to combine humanism, professionalism and the academic features of secondary school teacher education.

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THE SOCIETAL DETERMINANT, AND AN ASSESSMENT OF ITS REALIZATION IN THE REVISED TRAINING OF CLASS TEACHERS

by
Arja Puurula and Kari Uusikylä

1. Introduction

Many well-known educational theorists throughout history have emphasized the point that society at large and the miniature society of a school class are in mutual interaction. According to Dewey, for example, society extends its values and norms to the miniature society of a school class. At the beginning of this century he also presented the optimistic view that consistent changes in school classes would gradually lead to development of society in a democratic direction (Koskenniemi 1978, 132). It has happened, however, that the school system is lagging behind social development. According to Thelen (1979) school classes are self-centered formations which are resistant to change. In them the so-called factory hall or production model is being implemented, in which the educational upper class, i.e. individuals important for production, are separated from the educational lower class, i.e. the members of the welfare society.

The difficulty of the problems which are threatening mankind sets heavy and urgent requirements on school education from the viewpoint of factual education, and above all attitude

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Chapters 1 and 3 were written by Kari Uusikylä, Chapters 2 and 4 by Arja Puurula. Chapter 5 was written jointly.

education. This is emphasized by different political and economic systems. (cf. Faure 1973).

At the level of curricula there are clear signs of the societal determinant being emphasized. The teacher for his part has a key responsibility for directing the curriculum which is being put into effect. If teacher training does not sufficiently emphasize the societal determinant, it is improbable that the teacher will understand its significance in his work.

A teacher should be accustomed to analyze the connections between education and society in order to be able rationally to analyze the mechanism which quide education in society, the frame factors which restrain education and the importance of which has been emphasized by, for example, Lundgren (1972).

2. Certain Research Results regarding the Study Modules, in Finnish Class-Teacher Training, Orienting the Student to Society

One of the central points in the revised teacher training has been to make the relationship between society and education closer. In the contents of education this has been manifest in the study modules of educational planning and educational sociology, as well as in the study module which acquaints the student with social sciences, included in the orienting subjects. It has been primarily up to these study modules to respond to the challenging objectives formulated by the Teacher Training Committee:

> "The teacher shall be able to analyze social development, and he shall be aware of the significance of his work in terms of societal policy. He shall in his own work and for his own part be capable of furthering the spiritual and material well-being of the

> members of society, their freedom, safety, comfort, and versatile development in accordance with the principles included in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights." (Anon 1975, 50)

The success of the endeavors of bringing education and society closer to each other can be evaluated by means of recent surveys on students. Louhisola (1983) studied the experiences gained from class-teacher training in the Teacher Training Institutes of Savonlinna and Helsinki. When asked to assess the relevance of the theoretical studies from the viewpoint of class teacher's profession, the textbook of the sociology of schooling was evaluated as the least important. A lecture course on the sociology of schooling, lectures on educational sociology, school administration, and a lecture series on the principles of social sciences did not receive any higher assessments. In Helsinki the share of educational policy and educational planning were also rated low by the students, and the share of educational sociology did not receive a more than slightly better rating.

A thorough assessment of the new class-teacher training has been collected by Uusikylä (1983a), who made a survey on the students of the first two years of the Helsinki Teacher Training Institute. Educational sociology, basic principles of social sciences, educational policy and educational planning were assessed from the viewpoint of attaining these objectives: overall studies, critical scientific thinking ability, increased knowledge, development of a world view, handling of people, own favourable motivation for studies, and future work. A total of over twenty modules were assessed with respect to the above objectives. The studies of educational sociology and other similar subjects were assessed as being the least significant for the student's future work. The maker of the survey observes that the result is noteworthy from the viewpoint of teacher training:

> "The interest of future teachers seems to be one-sidedly oriented towards the micro-level, namely the pupil and the teaching situation." (op.cit. 58)

Similar results are reported by Aho (1984) from the Rauma Teacher Training Institute, where study modules "Development of Culture" and "The System of Higher Education and Planning of Studies" were assessed as being of little importance for the profession. The study module "Man's Ecology and Environmental Protection", which was highly esteemed, constitutes an interesting exception in this material.

The above-mentioned research results can be understood in the light of certain practical viewpoints (and allegations). In Finnish teacher training the role of teaching practice is emphasized, since in connection with application for posts the grade earned in teaching practice has considerable significance. Those study modules which bear the stamp of being theoretical are not seen as having any connection with future work. Being in the form of lectures and of reading set books they do not help the student to manage his practical training any better. Combining theory and practice is a matter which has been discussed extensively, in fact more as regards pedagogic and didactic studies than as regards studies which serve the societal determinant. (e.g. Hytönen 1982)

Another practical fact is the brevity of time in which subjects are taught. The module "Social Basis of Education" comprises two credit units in pedagogic studies (in Helsinki), whereas the module "Psychological Basis of Education" has been allocated twice the time. Contents pertaining to both are offered in connection with other courses. For example the course "Methods for Knowing the Pupil" contains applied psychology, and the block of studies "Man, Nature and Society" includes both. For the sake of comparison it should be mentioned that on average four credit units are used for basic

studies of each of the various subjects (history, physical education, mathematics, etc.)

The research results of Uusikylä and Louhisola can also be explained on the basis of theories regarding the professional development of teachers. For example, according to Fuller et al. (Veenman 1984, 160-161; Zeichner et al. 1982; Ryan 1982), a person develops into a teacher through three stages: 1) survival or self-oriented concerns, 2) teaching-situation concerns, and 3) pupil concerns. Fuller alleges that most teacher training programs are ahead of their time in teaching matters which will interest the students only later. At the initial stage the student is interested only in managing the teaching situation, he does not find it necessary for his work to ponder about matters which belong outside the classroom doors. On the other hand, there has been some criticism that one does not necessarily develop into a teacher through the above chain. The matter may be personal, a characteristic typical of each individual teacher.

Zeichner et al. (1982) discuss Fuller's development theory and note that teacher training cannot be separated from its moral basis. With this they primarily mean training from which the societal determinant is eliminated, as in fact is the case in trainind based on Fuller's stages of development. In their opinion, teacher training must not lead to indiscriminate acceptance of existing circumstances, the maintenance of the status quo. Zeichner makes a comparison between personalized teacher training and inquiry-oriented training and considers that only the latter gives an opportunity for the development of a reflective teacher. The term 'reflective teacher' for its part is close to the terms 'innovative teacher' and 'didactively thinking teacher ideal' used in Finnish didactics. (Puurula 1983)

3. Experiences of Students

The following examples are from the material of Uusikylä's follow-up survey; the material was collected in the class-teacher training option of the Teacher Training Institute of the University of Helsinki during 1979-1983. (Regarding the points of departure for the survey, see Uusikylä 1983a; see also Uusikylä 1983b).

One part of the material consists of tape-recorded diaries of five students, discussing the ideas and feelings aroused by the teacher training. The students noted that the lectures in social sciences aroused very little interest:

> "It is strange how some lecture series are experiences as being without significance. I felt quite ashamed that only five people went to the lectures in social sciences."

This opinion was presented by a conscientious female student, who thought that the level of teaching was one part reason for the low popularity of the course. In assessing the significance of a course the students very strongly emphasized the contribution of the teacher and the fact that, being future teachers, they longed for models of good teaching.

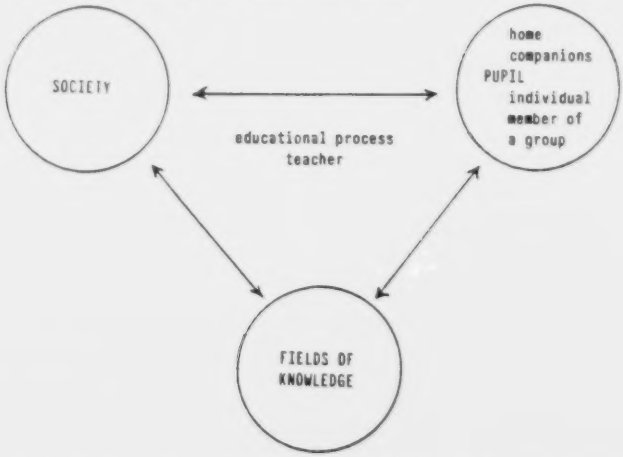
Wonderment about the passivity of his fellow students is also expressed by a male student, who during his years of study endeavored to activate his friends to discuss the development of their training, the societal importance of the teacher's profession, a teacher's morality, and many other topics. His diary contains exceptionally profound pondering; this is not an average student:

> "Interesting lectures on social sciences are beginning. People are strangely little interested in pre-

senting their own comments and in asking questions. Words such as "power", "politics" and "state" are under discussion. One would think that these are important to all people, let alone to teachers."

After their third semester of studies in December 1981 sixteen second-year students were given the following three-determinant model for teacher training (Anon. 1975) and in interviews they were asked to tell what they thought about the model from the viewpoint of their own training.

Figure 1. Determinants of teacher training



The following three viewpoints were emphasized in the replies:

1. The pupil was regarded as the most important determinant of the model. One student wondered why the three determinants in the model had been depicted with circles of equal size. In his opinion the pupil should have been depicted with a larger circle, since the pupil is the most important. In the opinion of some students the self-evident emphasis on the pupil deter-

minant is due to training. It is strongly stamped by emphasis on the individual, emphasis on the pupil.

2. The importance of the fields of knowledge in training was self-evident to the students. Emphasis on the material objectives within the area of knowledge at the expense of formal objectives was, however, subject to criticism. Especially the basic courses in the subjects of study during the first two years were criticized in this respect.

3. Attitudes toward the societal determinant were ambivalent. Its general importance was recognized, but it was not deemed to have the same relevance for the teacher's work as have the determinants which relate directly to the micro-level, i.e. the teaching situation and its immediate framework factors.

The replies of the students were rather vague. This was partly due to the intentionally general character of the question.

> "That society circle should be smaller. It is not so important at the elementary level. In senior secondary school there are social studies and suchlike offered separately."
>
> "The pupil is clearly emphasized in training and I myself would also emphasize the student. In our training, society has been a miserably small circle, actually it is only a small point."
>
> "The pupil is the most important. I place the fields of knowledge and society fifty-fifty."

The female student who presented the last-mentioned idea found the societal determinant more important than did the other students. Three semesters later, after three years of study,

her view had become clarified and reinforced, as is shown by the following quotation from an interview with her:

> "Above all, more general education, more social knowledge should be required of the students. A teacher should be able to perceive the values of his living environment and society, the values which he will transfer - so that he will know what he is transferring."

The female student who presented this opinion does not represent the typical student in the class-teacher option. Since the first day of her studies she was uncertain as to whether she wished to become a teacher or not. (The other students strongly underlined how happy they were about their study place.) Her uncertainty continued throughout the training; after the third year of study she announced that she would have never started studies in the Teacher Training Institute if she had been aware of the content of the studies. This, of course , does not mean that the student in question will be a worse teacher than the others upon graduation. On the contrary, it may be that experiencing studies and teaching work as problem-free is a poor prognosis from the viewpoint of the future profession (cf. Koskenniemi 1965).

The student's reference to social values which a teacher transfers leads to the objectives and their value basis. According to surveys, teachers' rational pondering of objectives is rare (Kansanen 1981). The responsibility of teacher training for implementing a sufficiently profound training concerning objectives is an indisputably demanding task.

4. Instruction in Social Sciences in Teacher Training

Of the social sciences, in particular educational sociology has an important role in teacher training. Instruction in and research into educational sociology has largely developed specificially in connection with teacher training in, for example, England and Poland (Reid 1978, 16-23; Radzievicz-Winnicki 1983). The development of this subject in British society is examined by Young (1984), who states that educational sociology began to develop in the 1960s because of certain important educational decisions. These included the start of sociology teaching at schools, the opportunity for further studies offered by the Open University for teachers already holding posts, the creation of a four-year B.Ed. degree, which always includes studies of educational sociology etc.

In the British society of the 1960s, instruction in educational sociology and its research were focussed on the problematics of acceptance into training and of selection, and on the other hand the social distribution of training and theories concerning these. Next, interest was focussed on the content of training, such as curricula and hidden curricula. The third stage was the inclusion of the reproduction theories and of the cultural perspective. (Young 1984; Antikainen 1981 and 1984). Of the above trends, only the first two areas have made their way into Finnish-language textbooks on educational sociology.

The development in Britain has been rapid, for great hopes were placed on the teaching of sociology, mainly for increasing educational equality. However, educational sociology seems to have failed these expectations, and the national goverment has endeavoured to reduce it in the course of the last few years. Sociology, together with art subjects, is regarded as a nonproductive university subject, and the funds taken up by them are desired for training in technical fields. It must be

noted that there has been lively discussion regarding the university courses in educational sociology, as well as regarding selections of reading in the field, produced by the Open University, owing to their political radicalism which has been experienced as excessive. At present, the British academic world is debating the very survival of sociology and educational sociology and is amazed at, for example, the reduced productivity of researchers. (Reid 1984, 167)

The influence of teacher training on the contents of educational sociology can also be examined with the aid of the textbooks which are being used. The general method of presentation in textbooks seems to have been "funnel-like", proceeding from macro-sociology to micro-sociology. This order of progress has been complied with in, for example, the much-used textbooks by Banks, Musgrave and Brookover, also in the Finnish work by Kivistö et al. This has meant that, in order to get subject areas close to himself, the student has had to acquaint himself with theories at the macro-level and often wade through a demanding jungle of concepts in order to arrive at the micro-level theories regarding, for example, the interaction relationships in a classroom. This order of proceeding is questionable in didactic terms and sets considerable demands on the lectures given to supplement the book required for an examination.

Hartnett (1983) discusses the instruction in sociology given in teacher training and at the same time compares three generally used textbooks. The ideas in his article have clear parallels with teacher training in Finland. The conclusions made by Hartnett are applicable to teacher training in Finland.

Hartnett has the view that instruction should be interdisciplinary, and that it should nourish sociological imagination and creative uncertainty. It should provide links between the

students' own interests and social structures. In this task, literature and films offer endless material for studies. He finds a basis for these pedagogical ideas, among other things, by pondering the relationships between the academic and the practical spheres of life. To put it concisely, Hartnett has the view that: 1) educational sociology must be clearly detached from the educational reality, from the here-and-now thinking represented by teachers, 2) the knowledge provided by educational sociology research reagarding the very matters which would be relevant for the work of teachers is diffuse and deficient, 3) the world of education includes so many complex moral and political topics that educational sociology is not able to offer guidance for action, any more than are psychology and philosophy. (Hartnett 1983, 89)

5. Conclusions

In assessing the present situation of the revision of teacher training from the viewpoint of the societal determinant it must be noted that we are quite far from the objective. Dawson et al. (1984) who studied a corresponding area (social foundations of education) and its esteem in Canadian teacher training report quite contrary results. Over 70% of the respondents found that the courses had increased their critical awareness of their own attitudes, beliefs and values, and helped them to understand the responsibility which the teacher has for knowing the realities of society.

It seems that the instruction pertaining to the societal determinants in the training of class teachers involves several viewpoints which should be thoroughly reconsidered. At present, the objectives which have been set for the training are not being attained; the courses may have detrimental effects. Research in the field should also be increased - both in the form of evaluation of the training and as papers pre-

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ADULT EDUCATION FOR LIFE TRANSITIONS

by
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1.INTRODUCTION

As developmental psychologists and sosiologists have studied the nature of adaptation an development during adulthood over the past ten or fifteen years, it has become apparent that, throughout their lives, individuals go through periods of transition. While the central core of personality remains the same, adults must adapt to new roles and create new life structures. It is at these transition periods when the need for learning is greatest. The need for change creates in the individual the challenge and stimulus that can promote learning and therefore growth and development. It is at these transition points that the adult educator can provide formal learning opportunities which can help adults to grow.

Mezirow (21, 22) has called the learning process which take place during periods of life transition "perspective transformation". He has studied the process in adult women who find themselves questioning their traditional feminine role. Freire (8) has also studied similar changes among oppressed peoples. While in those two situations, the adults are in the process of questioning a belief system which they formerly took for granted, we believe that the same process takes place in other kinds of transitions. For example, the woman about to have a first child must begin to think like a mother. A businessman who changes his career to become an artist goes through the process of discarding the belief system of business, including

the jargon and accepted behavior norms, and adopts a different set of behaviors and values.

Mezirow (18) describes three distinctly different categories of adult education, basing his descriptions on the 'Critical Theory' by Jürgen Habermas, who calls the three primary cognitive domains technical - dealing with control and manipulation of the environment, practical - dealing with social interaction, and emancipatory - dealing with self-knowledge. "Emancipation is from libidinal, institutional or environmental forces which limit our options and rational control over our lives but have been taken for granted as beyond human control." (18) Haberman sees the intent of such education as "providing the learner with an accurate, in-depth understanding of his or her historical situation"(18). According to Mezirow, "Perspective transformation is the emancipatory process of becoming critically aware of how and why the structure of psychocultural assumptions has come to constrain the way we see ourselves and our relationships, reconstituting this structure to permit a more inclusive and discriminating integration of experience and acting upon these new understandings. It is the learning process by which adults come to recognize their culturally induced dependency roles and relationships and the reasons for them and take action to overcome them." (18)

Alan Entine (6), in assessing the need for career counseling or therapy for people seeking mid-life career change, has developed a neat schema relating the individual's needs to four criteria, depending upon whether the change is internal or external, anticipated or unanticipated. This would apply, as well, to adult education programs designed to facilitate life transitions.

The following gives some examples of changes in an adult's life in Entines's framework:

Internal	External	
Serious illness	Inadequate income	unanticipated
Divorce	Needed work role	
Death of spouse or children	Rapid inflation	
Empty nest	Planned retirement	anticipated
Labor force re-entry	Promotion and advancement	
Voluntary career change		

The above changes can be studied in relation to the activities which aim at helping an individual to work through his or her process of change; e.g. personal counseling, career counseling and/or adult education.

In the following pages an outline of an adult education program will be designed to assist adults as they work through a period of transition. Our outline is based upon courses for people seeking to change careers, but we believe that it could be applied equally well to other life transition situations, such as planning for retirement, dealing with divorce or widowhood of the various stages of parenthood. In addition, we will discuss some of the theories of learning and development which seems to be useful in understanding the process which we are attempting to describe.

There are two main themes in this paper. Firstly, four phases in a process of change are presented. These are: (1) The life-structure must be changed, (2) Self-examination, (3) Trying on a new role, and (4) The new life structure. Secondly, the phases are used as basis for presenting an outline for an adult education program.

2. FOUR PHASES IN AN ADULT'S PROCESS OF CHANGE

2.1. FIRST PHASE: The life structure must be changed

Mezirow (22) describes a step-by-step process in which perspective transformation takes place. It begins with a "disorienting dilemma", a situation in which the individual is alienated in some way from his or her prescribed social roles. Freire (8) describes the process as beginning with what he calls "problem posing", that is, making problematic our taken-for-granted social roles and expectations and the habitual ways we act and feel in carrying them out. The resulting change is called by Freire "conscientization" and by Mezirow "perspective transformation". In each case, the process seems to begin with an existential question, "Who Am I?". The first stage can be related to current theories of adult psychological development and especially to Levinson's concept

of the "life structure". Levinson (18) defines the life structure as the underlying pattern or design of a person's life at a given time. It consists of internal perceptions of self, external perceptions of one's environment and the multiplicity of roles which the individual plays in society. The life structure provides a way of looking at the engagement of the individual in society and defines the relationship between the self and the world. According to Levinson, "...a life structure is satisfactory to the extent that it is viable in society and suitable for the self. The perspective of both society and self are needed here. A structure is viable to the extent that it works in the world. Within it, a man is able to adapt, to maintain his various roles and to receive sufficient rewards." "No matter how satisfactory a structure is, in time its utility declines and its flaws generate conflict that leads to modification or transformation of the structure."

Often the individual realizes that the life structure no longer fits because what Levinson calls a "marker event" has taken place. "Marker events are usually considered in terms of the adaptations they require. They change a man's life situation and he must cope with them in some way. The further changes in his relationships, roles and personality are then understood as part of his adaptation to the new situation." (18)

Mezirow hypothesizes that "the traumatic severity of the disorienting dilemma is clearly a factor in establishing the probability of a transformation." (22) Too severe a trauma may leave the individual so disoriented that he or she cannot act and anomie sets in. Mezirow does point out, however, that in some cases, "When serious internal inhibitions impair normal development, an adult may require therapy rather than education." (22)

When the existing life structure no longer provides a useful

framework for the individual, a transitional period occurs. As the individual seeks to discover and build a new life structure, there is an increased need for learning. In the transitional period, Levinson describes the primary tasks, which "...are to question and reappraise the existing structure, to explore various possibilities for change in self and world, and to move toward commitment to the crucial choices that form the basis for a new life structure in the ensuing stable period." (18)

The adult educator can play a critical role in the transitional period by acting as a catalyst. Educational experiences can enable the individual to begin to perceive discrepancies in the life structure as well as to provide the learning needed to change it.

2.2. SECOND PHASE: Self-examination

The second phase of the process is one of self-examination, of reframing and restructuring one's conception of reality and one's place in it. A critical assessment of personally internalized role assumptions and, possibly as well, a sense of alienation from traditional social expectations takes place. A group learning situation can provide the opportunity to relate one's discontent to similar experiences of others and to discover that one's problem is shared and is not a private matter indicating that there is something "wrong" with one's self. There is a redefinition of problems and the need for action and new criteria for assigning values and making judgements. There is a recognition of the possibility of effecting change through one's own initiave. (21)

This phase can be related directly to Albert Bandura's self-efficacy theory of learning. According to Bandura, "An efficacy expectation is the conviction that one can succesfully

execute the behavior required to produce the outcomes. Outcome and efficacy expectations are differentiated, because individuals can believe that a particular course of action will produce certain outcomes, but if they entertain serious doubts about whether they can perform the necessary activities, such information does not influence their behavior." (1) Hackett and Betz have shown how the concept of self-efficacy can be used to explain the career development of women. (10) In order to be succesful in a career, one must begin with the conviction that one is capable of success. For women, this is often a necessary initial perspective transformation that is required, since women are traditionally socialized to believe that they are not capable of success in instrumental roles.

2.3. THIRD PHASE: Trying on a new role

The third phase is one of trying on the new role. This is usually a fairly lengthy process, especially if a significant portion of the life structure is changing. According to Levinson, "The move from one era to the next is neither simple nor brief. It requires a basic change in the fabric of one's life, and this takes more than a day, a month or even a year. The transition between eras consistently takes four or five years --- not less than three and rarely more than six." (18) In a sample of male mid-life career changers, Robbins found that it took, on the average, almost a year to come to the decision to change, with the shortest time reported being one month, and others requiring as long as five years. (27) However, group learning in an adult education milieu may facilitate the process.

This phase is one of exploring options for new ways of acting and requires that the individual build competence and self-confidence in his or her new roles. Planning a course of action is central, and with that must come the acquisition of

knowledge and skills for implementing one's plans. There are provisional efforts to try new roles and to assess feedback. The individual must learn new ways of behaving and interacting with others in the about-to-be-acquired role. Often mastery of instrumental learning helps us to change our self-image. Human interaction is also necessary for reality testing of our assumptions. In this stage there must be a continuing interaction between self and self-in-society. Specific knowledge and skills may be necessary to adequately fulfill the requirements of the new life structure. The pregnant mother will take a course on infant care or the prospective retiree will take a course in horticulture or crafts.

In learning self-efficacy, Bandura cites the value of vicarious experience, for example, in adult education, the growth group, support group, or consciousness-raising group. He says, "Seeing other perform threatening activities without adverse consequences can generate expectations in observers that they too will improve if they intensify and persist in their efforts." (1) The adult learning group can provide the supportative environment in which the learner can safely try out his or her new roles and behaviors. According to Bandura, "People fear and tend to avoid threatening situations they believe exceed their coping skills, whereas they get involved in activities and behave assuredly when they judge themselves capable of handling situations that would otherwise be intimidating." (1) "Those who persist in subjectively threatening activities that are in fact relatively safe will gain corrective experiences that reinforce their sense of efficacy, thereby eventually eliminating their defensive behavior." "Once established, enhanced self-efficacy tends to generalize to other situations in which performance was self-debilitated by preoccupation with personal inadequacies." (1)

2.4. FOURTH PHASE: The new life structure

The last phase in this process of perspective transformation is a reintegration into society on the basis of conditions dictated by the new perspective. A new life structure has been created. According to Levinson (18), a transitional period is followed by a period of stability and building of the structure. The individual now shows evidence of what Mezirow calls "contractual solidarity", defined by his or her new meaning perspective. (21, 22) The person displays a new sense of self-confidence and self-efficacy based on the fact that he or she is operating knowingly and thinkingly on self-defined premises rather than responding passively to the expectations of others or within a contextual framework that no longer fits the changed self-image. The individual has also developed the skills and competencies that make him or her self-confident in the new role.

Mezirow's description of what happens when the perspective is transformed parallels Bandura's description of self-efficacy. Mezirow says, "A new meaning perspective has dimensions of thought, feeling and will. It involves seeing one's self and one's roles and relationships in a consistent, coherent way, a way which will dictate action priorities. Meaning perspectives are more than a way of seeing; they are proposals to experience one's life which involve a decision to take action." (21) Mezirow says that perspective transformation serves to break down previous reification, in which the individual has apprehended human phenomena as if they were beyond human agency, like the laws of nature. (22) According to Bandura, "In the social learning view potential threats activate fear largely through cognitive self-arousal. Perceived self-competence can therefore affect susceptibility to self-arousal. Individuals who come to believe that they are less vulnerable than they previously assumed are less prone to generate frightening thoughts in threatening situations." (1) Thus, if we under-

stand why we attach the meanings we do to reality, especially to our roles and relationships, we are better able to change our behavior in desired ways.

2.5. Evaluating the change in a life structure

Is the new life structure qualitatively better than the previous one? Transformation can be described as the process which is followed by adults as they move from one level of maturity to another. Presumably, we would see such adult learning as evidence of a continuation into adulthood of Piaget's stages of learning in the child (24, 25, 26), much Kohlberg (15, 16) describes mature stages of moral development as occurring in the adult or Loevinger (19) describes the ego developing in more advanced stages in adulthood. Mezirow says, "Maturity may be seen as a developmental process of movement through the adult years toward meaning perspectives that are progressively more inclusive, discriminating and more integrative of experience. In ascending this gradient toward fuller maturity, we move, if we can, toward perspectivess that are more universal and better able to deal with abstract relationships, that more clearly identify psychocultural assumptions shaping our actions and causing our needs, that provide criteria for more principled value judgements, enhance our sense of agency or control and give us a clearer meaning and sense of direction in our lives." (21)

While such positive outcomes may well be the result of the process of change, we believe that it may also be a qualitatively negative experience, especially if the environmental feedback during the second phase of exploration is not supportive. For example, the housewife may discover that she cannot learn the skills needed to perform in a demanding new job or that there are not jobs available, so that she must come to grips with the realization that she must reconcile herself to

her traditional role as housewife. Or the peasant may discover that the control of the dictatorship is so strong that it is impossible to rebel without the inevitability of death, which, for him, is too high a price to pay.

In her studies of individuals at differing stages of role change, Fiske (7) did not find that people necessarily move in positive directions of increased control or understanding.

3. AN OUTLINE FOR ADULT EDUCATION

In order to understand more fully the process of adult education for life transitions, we will present an outline of such a process. Since the process of career exploration and change is common one for adults, we have chosen to present our outline using that process as an example. We have build upon descriptions of models developed by Butcher, Gerstein and Super (4, 9, 30, 31), but have modified them somewhat by incorporating the concepts of perspective transformation, self-efficacy learning, and life structure.

In each step of the transformation process, an organized group can facilitate the learner's movement - by helping to pose initial questions, by providing the opportunity for the learner to discover that he or she is not alone in having a similar problem, by providing a supportive climate in which to try out new roles, and by offering training in the skills and knowledge that the learner comes to see are needed in order to assume the desired role.

Different kinds of learning is needed at each step. Table 1 demonstrates some possible phases of learning in a career change.

TABLE 1 PHASES OF LEARNING IN CAREER CHANGE

Phase I Acknowledging-the-need-for-change
'The life structure must be changed'

A. External - marker event - anticipated or unanticipated

B. Internal
1. Disorienting dilemma
2. Problem posing
3. Affective reflectivity - examining the emotion attached to our value system
4. Discriminant reflectivity - assessing the utility to ourselves of our present perceptions
5. Judgmental reflectivity - assessing the value to us of our present perceptions

Phase II Examination of self-in-the-world (Self-examination)

A. Exploration
1. Personal - internal
   a. Clarifying values
   b. Assessing interest and aptitudes
   c. Identifying skills
2. Situational - external
   a. Gathering information
   b. Developing alternatives
   c. Assessing alternatives
3. In adult learning situation, feedback from others about
   a. Self-disclosure
   b. Perception of reality and limitations imposed

B. Transition

1. Assessment of congruence of self-perceptions and feedback
2. Relating self-knowledge to working world
3. Feedback on reported and exhibited work and life values
4. Resolution of discrepancies through incorporation of feedback
5. Developing new self-effeciency expectations

C. Crystallization

1. Decision point
2. Goal contracting - immediate choices
3. Specify goals in performance terms - stragegies and planning
4. Identification of obstacles and strategies for overcoming them
5. Identify resources needed to achieve goals
6. Review premises

Phase III Implementation ('Trying on a new role')

A. Develop needed new skills
B. Try to obtain support - human and material
C. Acquire new role behaviors
D. Information gathering and sharing
E. Develop new coping behaviors and self-confidence

Phase IV Reintegration into new life-structure

In Phase I, group discussion in a supportative environment of people who share in the common dilemma is very useful. Techniques designed to bring about a high level of trust and psychic

risk-taking as quickly as possible are useful. Descriptions of useful exercises are beyond the scope of this paper, but can be found in Malcolm Knowles' Self-Directed Learning and in Artur and Marie Kirn's Life Work Planning. (14, 11)

In Phase II, the group structure continues to be of central importance. In addition, it may be useful in the context of career to use standardized tests of interests, values clarification exercises, and some of the exercises in Bolles and Crystal's Where Do I Go From Here With My Life? (3). Presentation of information about research techniques and how to gather information and lists of information sources, such as those in Bolles' What Color Is Your Parachute? (2) is also helpful. The feed-back of others in the group, especially if a high level of trust has been developed, is essential in Phase IIB.

In Phase III, traditional courses may be needed if new skills and knowledge are required. Again, the support of the group remains critical as the individual encounters set-backs and discouragements on the way to the new career. The group leader should provide a structure in which each individual in the group is expected to provide a report of his or her progress at each session and others in the group are expected to offer information, encouragement or constructive critisism. By Phase III, the leader's role should be very minimal, with the group itself maintaining progress.

In Phase IV an individual is usually outside the educational institution integrating into the new life-structure. However, this phase should not be regarded as an end of a change process. The process will continue in new learning and new frustrations towards new life transitions.

We do not believe that the adult can ever totally disengage himself from his past and from his old system of beliefs. On

the other hand, we know that even minor changes in a single aspect of behavior can have profound effects on the whole. (17)

Proper evaluation of such a course is complex, because it includes several different dimensions. First is the individual's own initial goals and whether they are met. Second is measurement of the degree to which the individual grows in the direction of self-actualization. A number of studies have shown that this could be measured in an adult education program, for instance, by using the Personal Orientation Inventory of Shostrum as a pre- and post-test (12, 32, 33). A third aspect involves traditional measurement of outcomes in terms of specific content learning, if that is required. Traditional methods of evaluation often show only possible directions of change in a particular period. It is more difficult to measure the process, i.e. what actually happens during this process.

4. DISCUSSION

While acknowledging the fact that all adult educators must bring their own biases and ideologies with them to the learning situation, we do not believe that they should impose their values upon the learners. It is the task of the adult educator to provide the structure in which free inquiry and learning can take place. The adult learner must be given the opportunity and the freedom to choose and define his or her own perspective.

The "revolutionary" view of the process which takes place in adults almost demands that the change be a drastic one. This may not necessarily be the case, however. A seemingly slight change in one aspect of life may have a ripple effect and

cause a change in the dynamics of behavior. Also, technical and practical learning may interact in the individual so that, suddenly, he may see things differently. We are reminded of Maslow's description of the self-actualizing person (20) and of the changes which take place in the people described in Gail Sheehy's Pathfinders (29). The changes in these people, while eventually dramatic, were often incremental.

As we delved more deeply into our subject, we began to see that the concept of self-efficacy became more and more crucial. One of the most important outcomes for the adult learner is a belief in his or her own self-efficacy. The individual who believes in his or her own ability to determine their own destiny is likely to be successful in life and, more importantly to continue to grow and mature and to be able to adapt and change his or her life structure in a flexible way.

The adult should become able to recognize his own needs and to have sufficient self-knowledge to make his own conclusions about life.

The role of the adult educator is to provide the learning environment in which the adult learner can work out his or her own life structure and reach their own perspective and act purposefully through it.

Dealing with a change process at general level, like in this paper, results easily in a simplified picture about a very complicated and often highly individual process. Nevertheless, when planning an educational course for adults a general framework can serve basis for thinking and rethinking the life transitions in relation to adult education practice.

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